THE Nation

VOLUME 147 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 24, 1938 NUMBER 13

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The Shape of Things

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EVERYTHING ELSE THAT HAPPENED DURING the past week seems trifling and immaterial beside the stabbing of Czechoslovakia by its British and French bodyguard. Elsewhere in this issue the details of Chamberlain's work are set forth—his encouragement to Prague as the crisis broke to resist Nazi terrorism secure in the assurance of Anglo-French support, then the sudden and sinister flight to Berchtesgaden to consult with Hitler, the galling discussions with his Cabinet and with the French leaders over the heads of the Prague government concerning the price in Czech territory to be paid to the Berlin blackmailer, and finally the brazenly cursory announcement to Czechoslovakia of its coming dismemberment—all in the name of a peace which this monstrous surrender to violence makes ultimately impossible. Against this background of infinite treachery labor in the great democracies has so far limited its protest to feeble resolutions and even more feeble demonstrations. Was there ever an occasion that so cried out for mass action, for thunderous denunciation, as this moment when the heads of the great European democracies have cast off the last shreds of political morality and elevated an obscene blackmailer to the dominance of a continent? British public opinion scorched Samuel Hoare out of office for attempting to sell out Ethiopia. How long will it permit Chamberlain to play the Judas when European democracy itself is at stake?

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HANKOW HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY ENDANGERED by the Japanese advances of the past week. In addition to capturing the strongly fortified town of Wusueh and breaking the last boom across the Yangtze River, Japanese troops advanced to within 50 miles of Sinyang on the Peiping-Hankow Railway. Capture of this city, which is 100 miles north of Hankow, would break the Chinese lines of communications with Sian and the Yellow River front. In the international sphere China has suffered materially from the Western powers' absorption in the European crisis. Although the League Assembly voted to apply Article XVII of the League Covenant to the

THE NATION, Published weekly at 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1938, by The Nation, Inc.

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Sino-Japanese dispute, the action is generally regarded as meaningless under the circumstances. Even in the United States agitation for the boycott of Japanese goods and the stoppage of war supplies for Japan has been weakened by the concentration of attention on Europe. That the Czechoslovakian crisis is intimately tied up with the conflict in the Far East is shown by the alacrity with which Japan lined up with its fellow-aggressors in Europe.

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THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE RED CROSS, in cooperation with the United States government, is preparing to send some 60,000 barrels of flour to Spain, and is planning a similar shipment to China, should be heartening news to the millions of refugees who in both countries face starvation this coming winter. Although some of the voluntary relief organizations have been untiring in their efforts to save these people, it has long been evident that in both Spain and China effective aid can come only through government action. There is every selfish reason why the United States should make a large contribution to the innocent war victims of both nations. The second largest wheat harvest in history has brought only loss and ruin to thousands of farmers because of the catastrophically low prices it has induced. In an effort to bolster these prices, the AAA has accumulated an unhealthy surplus which hangs like a sword of Damocles over the markets of the world. The more wheat is shipped for relief purposes, the better it will be for American farmers. We hope that in making the distribution to China attention will be given to sections of the country unoccupied by the Japanese. Recently returned travelers are agreed that because of the influx of millions fleeing before the Japanese advance, suffering is greater in such areas than in the occupied regions. They also agree that most of the aid furnished by the voluntary agencies has, because of better transport of facilities, gone to the Japanese-occupied sections. The Red Cross has an opportunity to remedy this injustice.

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THE BEST NEWS OF THE WEEK FOR LABOR is the saddest news of the week for diehard automobile manufacturers. The compromise peace pact unanimously accepted by the executive board of the United Automobile Workers should clear the way for the drive to organize Ford and end the factional wrangles and intrigue that have wasted the union's energies for months. Credit goes to Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, as John L. Lewis's representatives, for the tact and ingenuity they have shown in bringing together as disheartening a collection of prima donnas as ever infested a labor union. Homer Martin, whose face is saved by the agreement, nevertheless emerges from the episode with a reputation as a labor executive badly damaged by the year's struggle. The four officers he expelled—Frankensteen, Hall, Mortimer, and Addes—will present their case for reinstatement to Hillman and Murray, whose decision is to be binding. The original formula called for immediate reinstatement. The U. A. W. reaffirms its loyalty to the C. I. O. and its adherence to the last peace program adopted, the so-called twenty-point plan of May, 1938. Last February, before the cat-and-dog fight really broke out, Martin, Frankensteen, William Munger, and W. Jett Lauck proposed to President Roosevelt that the automobile industry be brought under federal control "on the basis of limited profit and lower prices per unit of output, unrestricted expansion of production, and complete reemployment." The idea was promising, but was lost sight of in the ensuing civil war. Perhaps constructive work of this kind can be pressed again now that the battle is over.

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TWO DANGERS THREATEN AS RESULTS OF the Hines mistrial. One is that the Republicans, who have not elected a governor in New York State since 1920, will nominate Thomas E. Dewey. If Mr. Dewey runs, he will break faith with those who voted for him, irrespective of party, less than a year ago on the understanding that he would clean up Manhattan. Should he win, the city would be deprived of the best district attorney it has had in two decades, and the New Deal, with 1940 approaching, might lose control of New York. As Mr. Woltman points out on another page, Dewey has been able to prosecute labor racketeering without interfering with legitimate union activities. But his conduct of the Hines case disclosed his clumsiness as a trial lawyer, and he has yet to give any indication of fitness for the governorship. Moreover, his mentors are Republicans of conservative outlook. The other danger is that the Hines mistrial will be made the excuse for a revision of the criminal law to give greater latitude to prosecutors and less protection to defendants, particularly against self-incrimination and prejudicial questions. Justice Pecora's contention is that Dewey's mention of the poultry racket was a question of this type. Discussion of whether Dewey made an error and whether, if an error, it justified a mistrial is interminable. But a little knowledge of the way district attorneys try to drag extraneous issues of politics, patriotism, or religion into trials involving labor leaders and radicals is enough to make one realize how dangerous revision might be.

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HERMAN MATSON, A JOBLESS AMERICAN, tried last week to make a speech advocating decent relief for the needy and calling for an end to political corruption. He had scarcely begun when his platform was overturned and he was severely beaten and kicked by hoodlums, who then escaped into the crowd. Mrs.

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Matson, who was present and tried to reach him, was also injured and has since suffered a miscarriage as a result. As the assailants disappeared, the police, who had up to that time taken no part in the proceedings, appeared—and arrested Matson. He was later charged with incitement to riot and held in $5,000 bail, but though that exorbitant sum was finally raised, it took a writ of habeas corpus to get him out of jail. The pattern of the case is so familiar that it hardly seems necessary to add that it took place in New Jersey. Matson, who is a representative of the Workers' Defense League, was protesting against the relief standards of Hoboken, where the brutality of the poormaster, Harry L. Barck, resulted in his death last February at the hands of a relief client goaded to desperation. Matson had a permit for the meeting. Arthur Garfield Hays is defending Matson in the latest attempt to apply American laws in Jersey.

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THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION'S House of Delegates, called into special session for the third time in its history, voted a spectacular reversal of A. M. A. policy when it committed the association to partial support of the national health program of President Roosevelt's Committee on Health and Welfare. After an opening session at which a united front of physicians was urged to fight "unsound doctrines," the House of Delegates in a series of resolutions advocated recognition of the principle that the complete care of the indigent is a responsibility of the community, indorsed the establishment of a federal Department of Health, and appointed seven physicians to meet with a group of physicians of the federal government to discuss methods of coordinating health and welfare activities of private and government medical workers. On the other hand, the delegates opposed any form of compulsory health insurance and emphasized in more than one resolution that the community health is a local problem and should be dealt with by local medical societies, relief authorities, and similar agencies. The action of the A. M. A., after its long and bitter opposition to government "interference" in the field of medical care, is extremely significant. It is all the more so since the A. M. A. has not abandoned its functions as a political and trade association; on the contrary its action indicates that the handwriting on the wall has become so clear that the medical politicians can ignore it only at the risk of having no influence on the government's program. But whatever the motives of the A. M. A., its decision to bow, even halfway, to the inevitable was well taken. Meanwhile, we are pleased to note that in New York State plans have been announced for the framing of legislation permitting mutual non-profit cooperative associations, along the lines of the Associated Hospital Service, which would cover physicians' services as well as hospitalization at a cost of four cents a day to subscribers.

THOMAS WOLFE BELONGED TO THE LUSTY school of writing. He was a huge man physically, and his literary productions were commensurate. Where other men write by tens of thousands he poured out hundreds of thousands of words. In describing one of his books in process he told a friend with gusto, "The first hundred pages are about locomotives." And his prodigious output gave rise to tall tales. It was said that his manuscripts were delivered in trucks and that Maxwell Perkins of Scribner's had told him he must cut at least a hundred thousand words out of his latest opus. He burst upon the world in 1929 with "Look Homeward, Angel," which overwhelmed the critics and caused his native town of Asheville, North Carolina, to disown him. It was an unabashed and undisguised picture of his own family and his own home town, in which ordinary human appetites and human relations were projected on an enormous scale in unrestrained and romantic rhetoric. In this book, as in many autobiographical novels, the material itself was compelling, while the passionate energy and youth of the author—he was in his middle twenties—suggested wide potentialities. In his later books, however, his writing remained undisciplined, highly emotional, and charged with a vague romanticism. In short the promise of maturity in thought and style did not materialize, and though there exists an audience which regards him as the great American novelist, time, which he apostrophized so eloquently, has already relegated his work to that category of literary production which is memorable for its energy rather than for its art.

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IT IS WITH REGRET THAT WE ANNOUNCE Max Lerner's resignation from the staff of *The Nation* to take a position as professor of government at Williams College. He will bring to his academic work the vigor and knowledge and tough sense of political reality that have distinguished his writing in the same field for *The Nation*. We shall miss him as an active colleague, but fortunately he will continue to contribute articles. Happily we are in a position to report gain as well as loss. I. F. Stone, of the New York *Post* staff, is to become an associate editor of *The Nation*. In addition to his work on the *Post*, Mr. Stone has found time to contribute to numerous journals, including *The Nation*, and to write a book entitled "The Court Disposes," which was brought out last year by Covici-Friede. Another old friend who has become a new associate is Keith Hutchison, for many years a member of the staff of the New York *Herald Tribune* in London, writing particularly in the field of business and finance. Mr. Hutchison is now living in the United States and has written many articles and reviews for *The Nation*. Both he and Mr. Stone will contribute chiefly to *The Nation's* editorial pages.

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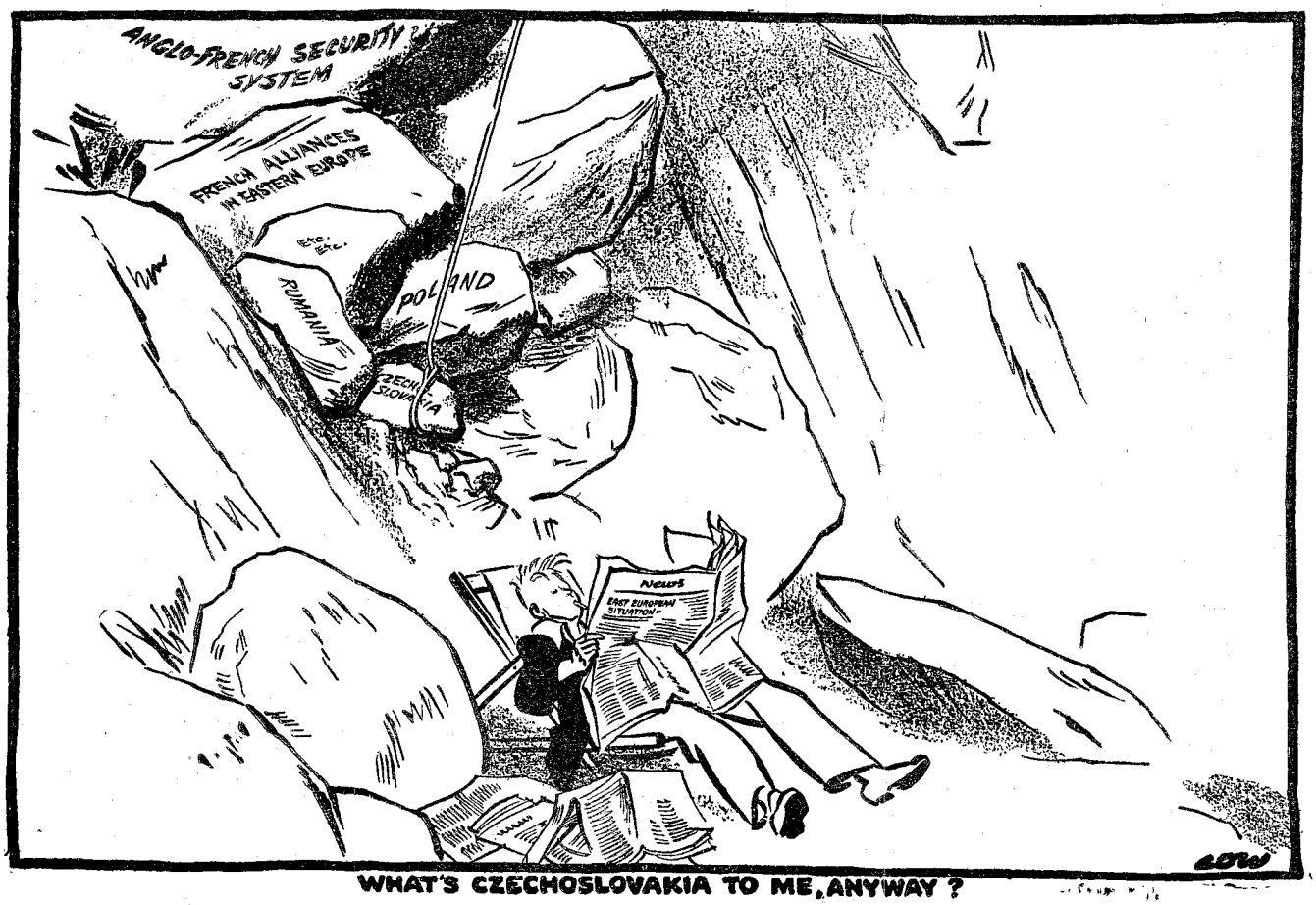
The Great Betrayal

THE brutal and irresponsible betrayal of the Czechoslovak republic by the British and French governments has brought not peace but a new and sharper sword. Never were accessories to a crime more coldblooded; they had not even the usual excuse of "disorder" to lean upon nor could they accuse the Czech government of recalcitrance or weakness. On the contrary, the country they propose to dismember in order to deliver to Hitler his pound of flesh (unlike Shylock, he takes it not in full payment but only on account) has offered the world an unequaled example of control and courage and solid integrity. The outrages perpetrated by the British in the name of friendship have been met with dignified courtesy: though the Czechs obviously suspected the motives behind the Runciman mission, they treated it as though it had come to Prague in simple good faith and with no concealed weapons. If they erred, they erred in the direction of conciliation, anxious to avoid even the appearance of creating obstacles to peace. Their course would be called wise only if the British government could be called honorable; but at least it was cooperative to a fault.

Meanwhile they kept order without a hint of brutality. During the days of rasping negotiation prior to Hitler's speech, troops and police on guard in the Sudeten district were as inconspicuous as possible and every effort was made to prevent any overt act that could be used as an excuse to end negotiations or bring on intervention. When Hitler's speech precipitated outbursts of violence—the obvious preludes to civil war—the Czech government moved slowly, applying martial law only where local conditions absolutely demanded it. Town officials and gendarmes met their death as the result of the government's reluctance to use force; but the larger interests of peace lent wisdom to its caution. So it has been through the days that followed: the Czechs have consistently been the quiet masters of their own situation.

The irresponsibility of the British-French action equals its callousness. What will be the result of carving up the nation they created in its present boundaries at the close of the last war? Have they exchanged Czechoslovak territory for even a fair chance of peace? We do not doubt that fear of immediate war strengthened the hand that held the knife. But surely this was not the only reason for the fatal decision. In the first place, peace still hangs by a rotten thread which any incident or decision may break. In the second place, if peace survives the continuing crisis it will be a Nazi peace devoted to preparation for a greater war than could now be fought. Does Chamberlain really believe that Hitler will be



WHAT'S CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO ME, ANYWAY?

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"appeased" by a gift of the borderland of Czechoslovakia? Like Austria, it would add to the Reich a heavily populated industrial area, which would prove a new burden, unable even to feed itself and much less able to supply the hungry Reich with the foodstuffs and raw materials it so desperately needs. To give Germany more manpower and less food is to increase its need of conquest, its threat to Europe's peace. No, the conspirators who met at Downing Street must have known as well as the man in the street, that the Sudeten land, indeed Czechoslovakia itself, is a gateway through which Hitler will push through to the oil of Rumania and the wheat of Hungary no matter how many powers may guarantee the new defenseless boundaries of the Czech state.

They know this. Do they not also know, whatever his present protestations, that Hitler with Eastern Europe in his pocket will turn on France? This is not speculation. It is his avowed intention; and its fulfillment at present rate of progress should not be far off.

So peace will not be the reward of the shameless bargain struck at Berchtesgaden and ratified at 10 Downing Street, nor was it the real price of British dishonor. What Chamberlain wants is not put in the headlines or on the air. Chamberlain, and Daladier, too, is willing to grant Hitler the hegemony of Europe rather than take a firm collective stand against fascism. Czechoslovakia is the new Spain. The western "democracies" fear Hitler, it is true. But more than they fear Hitler they fear the overthrow of both Hitler and Mussolini; they fear the power of the democratic states linked in a united resistance with Soviet Russia. In short, they fear the implications of democracy triumphing, either by peace or war, in a period of economic disintegration and social change. They accept Hitler's own alternative: either us or communism; and they choose Hitler. It is a shortsighted choice. The triumph of fascism will not spare the Tories of Britain just because they have served its purposes. Democracy could be preserved if the ruling classes willed it so. The integrity of popular government depends on the determination of all groups in the democratic nations to make it survive and function. But Chamberlain and his inner circle of pro-Nazi Tories are willing to risk nothing in its behalf; they prefer to sacrifice the independence and territorial integrity of a friendly democracy rather than oppose the sure, implacable progress of the fascist powers.

The end is not in sight. Whether the Czechs surrender or decide to fight, whether the immediate issue is peace or war, we are certain of one thing: when Chamberlain went to Hitler to offer up Czechoslovakia on the altar of fascist violence and lawless contempt for decent international behavior he subjected his country to the deepest humiliation and shame that it has suffered in our time. Britain and the world will pay for his act in the years to come.

A Challenge to America

MILLIONS of Americans have been shocked and disheartened by Prime Minister Chamberlain's shameful sell-out, and his course has been denounced by our press with a rare degree of unanimity. It is easy for persons 3,000 miles away to advocate policies for British and French people which involve the risk of war. It is much harder for Americans to recognize their own responsibility in the matter. When a diagnosis is finally made of the queer paralysis which afflicts the democratic countries as they gaze into the eyes of a potential aggressor, even one essentially weaker than themselves, it will be found that the United States suffers even more from the hypnotic spell than the European democracies. How else can we explain the fact that this country has made no move in the past week even to protest against the suicidal policy of concessions to international brigandage? Surely Americans have as much at stake as the citizens of any European country. We have no desire to be deprived of our traditional liberties by the relentless march of fascism. And we know that Czechoslovakia may furnish the last opportunity for a successful stand against Hitler.

What is lacking apparently is a recognition of our power and prestige as a nation. Léon Blum points out in his appeal to President Roosevelt for action that America's moral and material support will be decisive in case of war. Because of this fact it could also be decisive for peace. The United States controls close to half of the world's supply of the raw materials which are crucial for war purposes. It is the world's leading commercial nation. It possesses more than 55 per cent of the world's gold supply, and is practically the only source of international credit. Moreover, it is sufficiently removed from European political rivalries to have a moral influence denied to even the greatest of the European powers. And, to complete the picture, President Roosevelt enjoys a tremendous personal prestige. He has repeatedly shown himself to be courageous and fair and to possess an unusual amount of political sagacity.

It is true that the Neutrality Act prevents the President from stating unequivocally that the resources of the United States would be at the disposal of nations that took up arms against aggression. But it is possible for the President to exercise leadership of a different sort, a type which need not involve specific European commitments. Assuming that Czechoslovakia rejects the Anglo-French plan for its national suicide, drastic action will be necessary to avert war. Hitler will have gone so far that he cannot well back down. The British and French, having yielded to the utmost, can scarcely be expected to restrain Germany further by their own activities. They would probably jump, however, at a suggestion for an

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international conference emanating from Washington. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* has already proposed that the President summon such a conference, arguing eloquently from the point of view of a sister North American democracy which, even more certainly than the United States, would be engulfed in any prolonged struggle in Europe. The United States alone is in a position to call a conference broad enough to give a fair consideration to the whole problem of European minorities.

The United States is not perhaps in a position to make specific political commitments at such a gathering. But as we pointed out in last week's issue of *The Nation,* it can aid in a general settlement through economic appeasement. It could offer favorable trade agreements to the countries of Europe which would accept a humanitarian settlement of their minorities problems, backing this up, perhaps, by credits and loans to be used in economic reconstruction. While there can be no guaranty against war until the democracies are prepared to accept the risks of a united stand against lawlessness, President Roosevelt does have a chance to make a significant move toward peace without involving this country in danger of war. Perhaps it is too late, but is it not worth a trial?

Shuffle the Cards

THAT our national prosperity depends on the maintenance of adequate mass purchasing power has become a part of American thinking in the past few years. It may be regarded as the basic idea of the New Deal. Expenditures for relief and public works, aid to farmers, and legislative action to strengthen the bargaining power of labor have all drawn their theoretical justification from this premise. The report made by the National Resources Committee on "Consumer Incomes in the United States," like the study made by the Brookings Institution of "America's Capacity to Consume," shows how serious is the condition confronting the country in this fundamental phase of its economy. Millions are compelled to live below the minimum of decency. The President did not exaggerate when he spoke of a third of the nation as "ill fed, ill clothed, ill housed"; the mean income of the lowest third of our population during the period covered by the committee's statisticians was $471 per consumer unit, that is, family or single individual living alone.

But the figures released by the National Resources Committee do more than merely buttress the earlier findings of the Bookings Institution. The latter were based on 1929, and disclosed the superficial character of our prosperity. The committee's survey was based upon the period from July, 1935, through June, 1936, and indicates how little the New Deal, for all its brave eloquence, has been able to do about this, our fundamental problem. The twelve months covered by the report on consumer incomes comprised the third fiscal year of the Roosevelt Administration and were marked by continued business upturn; they can be taken as a fair laboratory test of the progress the President has made. The Brookings report and the committee's study differ in methods but are comparable enough for broad purposes. The former showed that in 1929 0.1 per cent of the families at the top had as much income as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom. The latter reveals that in the third year of the New Deal the top 1 per cent of the nation's consumer units had almost as much income as the lowest 40 per cent.

One-third of America's families and individual consumers had less than $780 income in the fiscal year 1935-36; one-half had less than $1,070; two-thirds less than $1,459; nine-tenths received less than $2,500. The richest 0.5 per cent had an income equal to the poorest third; the highest 3 per cent took as much of the national income as the poorer half; the highest 10 per cent had more income than the lower two-thirds. These figures warn us that the hyperbole of political combat is as deceptive as the shrieks and moans of the usual wrestling match. The antagonists suffer little damage, though the customers are thrilled. This is hardly "communism." Nor, unfortunately, is it much of a New Deal. The cards have hardly been reshuffled.

We have no desire to detract from what the President has accomplished nor to overlook the powerful economic tides against which he must swim. But we think the time has come to take stock. It should be clear by now that neither pump priming nor the organization of labor, though both are important, is enough to raise and redistribute the national income to the degree necessary if we are to stabilize our economy. What success the New Deal has achieved is attributable primarily to inflationary measures; AAA, relief, and collective bargaining have added to the income of the poorer classes; higher prices have siphoned most of it back into the pockets of the rich. Taxation, credit expansion for spending, labor's enhanced power to obtain better wages and working conditions have prevented hunger, stimulated production, and increased the income of the farmer and worker, but they are weapons of limited application. They have not appreciably changed the relative shares of poor and rich in the national income. Nor, what is more important, have they proved effective enough to raise production closer to its potential output. The problem is not an arithmetical one. We are not called upon to divide an apple. We are faced with the task of setting our productive capacities free from the fetters that prevent their full utilization. We cannot do this by cutting down real wealth and piling up real debt. Direct government action must bring idle men and idle materials together. Some measures of social control are necessary if we are to end the paradox of want amid plenty.

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Hitler Wants Skoda

By VLADIMIR POZNER

SKODA WORKS, LTD., is a huge world-wide trust whose past history and present wealth are one of the more important, if less publicized, reasons for Germany's longing for the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia. Of course the National Socialist leaders are usually careful to speak only about "German blood," "Czech terror," and the "will of God," not mentioning the desirable gun-turning and shell-pressing plants of Skoda. General Göring, however, who is endowed with less subtlety than some of his colleagues, declared last spring that while the Sudetens were undoubtedly worthy of attention, the Skoda Works were much more interesting. This slip of the Field Marshal's tongue was obviously unfortunate, and Propaganda Minister Goebbels at once forbade the Nazi newspapermen to mention it. Unpleasantness would have resulted had Göring's statement become known abroad, for everyone is aware that the owners of Skoda control to a large extent the munitions industry of Central and Southeastern Europe.

Emil Skoda started modestly; in 1866 he became director of the tiny Count Waldstein Works in Pilsen, where Europe's most famous beer is made, at that time an Austrian city. The plant had but 120 workers, and during the Austro-Prussian War, when many of the men, curiously enough, were drafted for active service, the number dropped to 33. Exactly fifty years later, during the World War, the opposite occurred: soldiers were sent to manufacture munitions at the Skoda Works, which employed by then not 33 but 33,000 workers.

During this half-century the Skoda industry—its founder died in 1900, and his son and successor, Karl, was made a baron in 1914—succeeded in transforming the antiquated Pilsen workshop into the largest metallurgical trust of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Financially the organization was controlled by Krupp, but a certain number of shares were held by Vickers. After the Armistice the situation changed. Pilsen and Skoda were handed over to Czechoslovakia; Krupp was asked to step out; and Vickers was set aside, too. A new partner now entered the picture. While Czechoslovakia was discussing the advantages and dangers of having a large trust in a small country, and the Prague government was considering the advisability of confiscating Skoda and turning it into a modest state arsenal, the famous French munitions-maker, Schneider, acquired 56 per cent of the capital stock. Schneider meant business. Under his directorship Skoda engulfed one independent company after another: the important United Machine Works of Prague in 1921, the St. Pancras coal mines in 1922, the Komarmo shipyards on the Danube in 1923, the Iron and Steel Works of Hradek in 1924, the Laurin and Klement automobile factory in 1925.

Today Skoda owns nine huge metallurgical and machinery works in Czechoslovakia, as well as numerous coal, iron-ore, and lignite mines and deposits. Its steel works, foundries, forges, and machine-building shops compete with the largest world corporations. It is in a position to supply all kinds of power stations with complete equipment, from the structural work up to the finest electrical apparatus. It is the most important motor car manufacturer in Czechoslovakia, turning out every conceivable type of automobile. It sells electric traveling cranes to Chile and cast-steel mooring posts to Egypt, oil-refinery tanks to the Argentine and tube mills for crushing gold-containing ores to South Africa. It built the bridges over the Chirroud and Kazimroud rivers in Persia, the Chapei Electrical and Waterworks in Shanghai, the Casablanca sugar refinery in Morocco, the Hongkong brewery. If you travel on Chinese or on Lithuanian railways, you are drawn by Skoda locomotives. If you cross the Atlantic on the Normandie, you depend upon the cast-steel parts manufactured by Skoda.

But Skoda specializes in destruction, putting out every instrument that human ingenuity has devised to spread death and ruin. Pouring out of the Skoda Works 365 days a year are guns of all bores and for all purposes—rifles, machine-guns, light field, aircraft, anti-aircraft, and coastal guns, howitzers, mortars, guns for battleships—shells and bombs of all calibers, marine and river mines, tanks, and armored trains. The pride of the corporation is its Pilsen works, which are a city in themselves with a private railway station and twenty-eight miles of track, but equally important from Hitler's angle are the companies Skoda controls both in Czechoslovakia and outside. Within the country are the road-building firm Konstruktiva, the Cable Works Kladno, the Czechoslovak Arms Manufacturing Works at Brno, the Czechoslovak Air Transport Company of Prague, which holds a practical monopoly in the field of national civil aviation, and the Avia Aeroplane Works, manufacturing fighting, bombing, reconnaissance, transport, and mail planes which are sold all over the world and used by the Belgian, Latvian, Yugoslavian, Rumanian, and Polish armies. In Poland the Polskie Zaklady Skoda, commonly called the Polish Skoda, is the country's best-equipped war-material factory. In Rumania the Prague corpora-

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tion controls the metallurgical works of Ploesti, on which the Rumanian army depends to a great extent for its equipment. In Hungary Skoda owns several arms and munitions plants and also has large holdings in the Ungarische Kredit-Anstalt, the largest bank in Hungary.

If there were the least doubt about the significance of Skoda in the minds of National Socialist leaders, Krupp would bring them to reason. The Essen magnate, whose influence in Germany today ranks second only to that of the highest Nazi officials, has never forgotten or forgiven what he terms his eviction from the Skoda Works. During the World War he built in Berndorff, Austria, a munitions plant to help equip the Central Powers' armies. After their defeat he undertook to develop his Austrian branch to compete with Skoda. He even enlisted the support of Vickers, which had not liked the necessity of giving up its share in the Pilsen works. In post-war Austria, Krupp-Berndorff became one of the chief centers for Anschluss propaganda, financing the Austrian Nazis precisely as the Essen firm put funds at the disposal of Hitler before he seized power. Soon after the murder of Dollfuss the police discovered that Krupp-Berndorff had supplied arms to the Nazis who killed the Austrian Chancellor.

What complicates the situation is that not only Krupp but Skoda gave money to Hitler before he became Führer—large amounts of money. The Nazis who received these gratuities naturally won't admit it, and the man who transacted the business was Alfred Loewenstein, who in 1928 jumped or fell from a plane while over the English Channel. Hitler and Göring must laugh today when they think of the shortsighted Mr. Loewenstein who used to present them with appreciable gifts in order to keep Central Europe safe for gun-makers. As for the Skoda directors, they have not much to laugh about. They probably did not even feel flattered when Hermann Göring declared that their munitions works were of greater interest to the Third Reich than the Sudetenland. They certainly know that the National Socialist leaders plan to merge their company into the huge metallurgical and mining trust called Hermann Göring Werke, which comprises all the plants of Krupp's rival, Fritz Thyssen, and, since the annexation of Austria, the wealthy Alpine Montan Gesellschaft.

Dewey for Governor?

BY FRED WOLTMAN

THOMAS E. DEWEY, the Sir Galahad of the forces for clean government and New York's prize racket buster, is the white hope of the Republican Party. Despite the temporary collapse, in a mistrial, of his spectacular case against Tammany Leader James J. Hines, he is still by far the outstanding Republican candidate for Governor of New York. In fact, he is about the only one with any hope of success. If he is nominated at the convention which meets at Saratoga on September 28 and eventually elected, he will unquestionably be a principal contender for the White House in 1940. Even if he turns down the nomination in order to finish his job as New York County's district attorney, Dewey is destined, unless prospects shift considerably, to play a significant role in national politics.

Yet virtually nothing is known of this young prosecutor aside from his skill and success in sending criminals to prison. He has had no experience in governmental administration and has never offered a semblance of a political program or platform. If he has any convictions on taxation, relief, labor boards, social security, or any of the other issues of governmental policy which confront a Chief Executive in Albany or Washington, he has never expressed them. In fact, a study of some 5,000 magazine and newspaper clippings covering his seven years in public life fails to disclose that he has any underlying political or social philosophy whatever. He has consistently refused to commit himself on current issues, with one obscure exception—during his last election campaign he indorsed the housing-reform views of a previous speaker by pointing out that if they prevailed the office of district attorney might not be necessary. The day after his election as district attorney he was asked in a press conference for his opinions on capital punishment. He replied, smiling, "After all, I'm still young. You can't expect me to solve all the problems of the world."

Persons closely associated with Dewey know almost nothing of his social views apart from the fact that he is a Republican and definitely conservative-minded; he has described himself as a "New Deal Republican" without elucidating the point. The sum total of his philosophy has been: "Abolish patronage and racketeering and break up the alliance between crime and the politicians, and the problems of government will be solved."

This lopsided emphasis on crime which is the substance of all his public statements was summed up in a speech he made last June on receiving an honorary degree at Brown University. Talking on the "Dictatorship of Crime," Dewey said, "In every city we have

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organized crime sapping at the vitals of democracy"; and he called upon the Commencement audience to fight "the vicious interlocking of crime and politics." "The time has come," he said, "when democracy must fight this thing on all sides. There must be a restoration of government from the hands of political machines." Obviously, this is the creed of a sincere prosecutor, and, in Dewey's case, a brilliant prosecutor as well. For a political leader it is a dangerous oversimplification of the problems of government.

If Dewey's ideas aside from those on crime may be vague, his methods are not. He has probably been the shrewdest, most ruthless prosecuting official in the history of New York.

He has blanketed the district attorney's office with a censorship no Tammany prosecutor would dare attempt. And he has established a practice, considered pernicious by newspapers, of feeding out information about cases in his office without allowing himself to be mentioned as the source. Under past prosecutors reporters were at liberty to come and go as they pleased through the district attorney's building, talking to assistants about pending cases and digging out whatever information they could. In his first month as district attorney Dewey issued a confidential order forbidding his staff to talk to newspapermen about office matters on pain of instant dismissal. When he learned the order had reached the newspapers he angrily threatened to fire the employee responsible.

His next step was to close off the bridge between his building and the Criminal Courts building, where the press room is located. To get into the seven-story prosecutor's building the newspapermen are required to give their name, business, and destination to a police attendant, who formally announces them.

All information from the office clears through an official press representative, a former newspaperman. Mr. Dewey himself is frequently inaccessible. For a time not even his press representative was readily available, and reporters, hot after information to satisfy an impatient city desk, had to cool their heels at an outside bench until ushered in, finally, by a flunkey. After an outburst of protest Dewey made his contact man more accessible.

Since all news from this vast public office must clear through the press representative, it is naturally always favorable to the office. There has been a rumor that a considerable number of minor cases have been lost because of the inexperience of Dewey's young deputies. Reporters have tried to check the facts without success. So tight a censorship may be safe enough in an office run with the integrity credited to Mr. Dewey's. Under a Tammany incumbent it would give the political machine carte blanche for manipulating criminal cases, free of public scrutiny. The incompetence, politics, and graft which the press disclosed over a period of years about Dewey's predecessors came from information dug up within the office itself.

On the rare occasions that he is willing to be quoted, Dewey hands out a brief, typewritten statement. Hence most of the news from the district attorney's office is pinned on the statement "it was learned" or "it is known," or the story is published as a bare fact on the newspaper's sole responsibility. Frequently Mr. Dewey has vehemently rebuked reporters for putting his name to a story he gave out the day before. The newspapers themselves are not happy about this arrangement, but they accept it on the ground that Dewey is performing a rare public service.

Dewey's personal attitude varies. At times he is exceedingly cordial; at others he is uncooperative and curt. Generally the newspapermen regard him as high-handed, to put it mildly, and as willing to mislead them if it suits his purpose. For example, for several days before the Hines indictment, the biggest local story of the year, was made public, he denied reports that the Tammany leader was involved in a case before him. When reporters tried to confirm a report that State Senator Julius S. Berg was under investigation, Dewey denied it. Several days later Berg committed suicide, and Dewey, without being quoted, gave out the facts of Berg's secret indictment on charges of taking bribes to obtain liquor licenses and legislation favorable to taxicab interests.

Dewey's ruthlessness in pursuing criminals is considered his strongest attribute as a prosecutor. He himself regards it as the best weapon against organized crime. The name of Charles (Lucky) Luciano was unknown to the New York public, and the police had spotted the Italian vendetta chief as merely a small-scale racketeer, until Dewey's investigators arrested him in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Thereafter Mr. Dewey built up Lucky as New York's Racketeer No. 1, the czar of organized prostitution and many other rackets in New York City. Luciano went to Dannemora for thirty years. It was on the testimony of pimps, prostitutes, and alleged aides who turned state's evidence that Luciano was convicted. They were set free as a reward for cooperating with the state.

In the case of Hines, whom Dewey charged with being part of a conspiracy to run Harlem's profitable lottery business, the first indictments named Dutch Schultz, the murdered beer racketeer, George Weinberg, and two Negro "numbers" bankers, Alexander Pompez and Joseph Mathias Ison. Dewey announced that Pompez and Ison were key figures in the racket and charged them with thirteen felonies and a misdemeanor. Hines was not mentioned, and whether Dewey knew he was involved is not known. Once Hines's head popped up, however, Dewey saw his chance to destroy Tammany's powerful, long-suspect leader. For years a common remark in political clubs had been, "Nobody will ever get

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the goods on Jimmy Hines." Former Judge Samuel Seabury, another relentless investigator of municipal corruption, had tried for years to nail Hines and failed, although he did force New York's popular Jimmy Walker to resign as mayor under fire.

With Hines in the case, Pompez and Ison became minor figures. When they turned state's evidence, Hines's attorney forced them to admit under cross-examination that Dewey had agreed to reduce the thirteen felony counts and one misdemeanor count to a single misdemeanor charge if they pleaded guilty and that he had promised to recommend a suspended sentence. Both admitted running policy banks grossing hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, Ison's collecting $14,000 a week and Pompez's $7,000. The presiding justice, Ferdinand Pecora, at once declared he would not be bound by any such recommendation, and he rebuked Dewey for offering to have his witnesses plead guilty in front of the Hines jury after the defense pointed out that Dewey had failed to secure a guilty plea before they turned state's evidence.

Dewey's genius for obtaining convictions lies in his unique method of first getting the goods on minor participants in a racket, then holding them as material witnesses or defendants for months, and on threat of sending them to prison at last obtaining confessions. His critics regard the method as a great deal more effective than the third degree, which Dewey disdains.

Many courtroom spectators at the Hines trial felt Dewey was overzealous, considering the strict rules of court procedure. The record is full of rebukes by Pecora. From a strictly legal point of view there seems to be little doubt that Pecora was justified in declaring a mistrial after Dewey interjected an unrelated crime—the poultry racket—into the lottery case. The opinion of some lawyers seems to be that Dewey violated an elementary textbook rule. Others think his action defensible from a broader legal standpoint, at the same time admitting that a rather fine legal question was involved.

On one issue, in addition to crime and racketeering, Dewey has held to a firm line. That is labor unionism. He has kept his skirts clear of clashes with labor. Almost from the beginning of his career as a rackets prosecutor, he has followed the dictum that incidental violence in a labor controversy does not constitute racketeering unless shakedowns or paid strong-arm men are involved. He made one mistake—that of announcing that there was a reign of terror in the fur industry and that he had arrested three professional thugs from the union who were intimidating and assaulting fur manufacturers. It developed that the three defendants were old-time members of the American Federation of Labor Fur Workers' Union. The evidence was vague and Dewey let three years pass without bringing them to trial. Since then he has steered clear of labor unions unless there was obvious evidence of racketeering. As a result he has kept the good-will of the C. I. O. and, with less enthusiasm, of the A. F. of L. In fact, the closest he has come to a stand on social questions was a remark on collective bargaining: "No intelligent man, whether he be employer or employee, can fail to support enthusiastically the cause of organized labor. Neither business nor labor can prosper unless business is fair to organized labor, and labor by collective bargaining can enforce its demands for decent living conditions and a fair wage."

Without the least sympathy for communism, he won the support of trade-union Communists. The first labor indorsement for Dewey as district attorney came from a Communist law office on August 11, 1937, because when he sent the leaders of the restaurant union to prison for shaking down night-club and restaurant owners, the Communists won control of the affiliated unions. According to the New York *Herald Tribune,* that consequence "was looked upon with equanimity, indeed approval, by Dewey investigators, for during the years in which Locals 16 and 302 have been known as racketeering unions the left-wing locals have had the reputation of being reasonably honest labor unions."

In the painters' union the Communist leaders lost a city-wide strike last year. Faced with opposition at a membership meeting called to ratify an unsatisfactory agreement with the contractors, they produced Dewey, then in the midst of his campaign for district attorney. The rackets prosecutor told how he had seized the books of the painters' union nineteen months before, recalled that the former corrupt leaders had been voted out of office, and predicted that no gangster would ever enforce the kick-back in the union "so long as you have this leadership and so long as I am district attorney of New York County." Three thousand painters cheered and forgot about the strike.

The Communist issue is significant only in so far as it demonstrates that Dewey is concerned not with the economics of communism but with the assistance left-wing unionists have given him in exposing union corruption. Actually, it is doubtful if he would get any substantial support from labor's left or right wing as candidate for governor.

In his college days at Michigan, Dewey was shy, retiring, and inactive in university life. Now he has an invariable rule: all photographs of himself must be posed. When a photographer snapped him informally several years ago he flew into a rage and demanded that the plates be destroyed. He quickly calmed down, but he never permits a photograph without his coat on and his tie adjusted. His conceit is a source of wonder, and some admiration, to persons close to him, who tend to regard it as a potent weapon against the dragon crime. When in a recent press conference reporters were trying to get

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news and Dewey had none to give them, a wit among the newspapermen suggested he try the "official spokesman" policy of President Hoover.

"No," replied Dewey laughing. "That was used unsuccessfully once before, as I recall, by a greater man than I."

"There's a story," said the reporter. "Dewey's slipping."

Dewey is himself a hard worker, and he is a slave-driver to his staff. His effectiveness in the technique of prosecuting crime is unparalleled. But his accomplishments have been limited to that narrow field. New York had another district attorney whose spectacular convictions sent him to the governor's chair. That was Charles S. Whitman, a Republican and a reform prosecutor; and his record as Chief Executive of the state was one of the worst in recent New York history. Whether Dewey is another Whitman or will prove to be a Republican messiah remains to be seen.

Why the Dutch Fear Japan

BY JOHN GUNTHER

SUPERIMPOSE a map of the Netherlands East Indies on one of the United States. You will be surprised. If you put the western tip of Sumatra at San Francisco, the eastern extremity of the island empire, New Guinea, will be about 500 miles out in the Atlantic, the northern extremity in Borneo will be in North Dakota, and the southern extremity, below Timur, somewhere near New Orleans.

The islands are important mainly because they are rich. They produce pepper, sugar, tea, coffee, tin, rubber, oil, iron, gold, and, incidentally, 95 per cent of the world's quinine. They pour a stream of wealth into the mother country, Holland, ten thousand miles away by crow or K. L. M. (Royal Netherlands Air Line), and are an outlet for Dutch business energy and colonial enterprise. They are packed tight with natives, under the steaming sun; Java is the most densely populated country in the world, exceeding even Japan.

The Dutch, about 8,000,000 of them at home, rule their rich colonial empire of at least 65,000,000 by methods which in some ways are a sharp contrast to those of the British in India or Malaya or the adjacent portions of Borneo and New Guinea. In British India the overwhelming problem, the problem which every viceroy must face every minute of the day, is that of his relation to the Indians. This problem hardly exists in the Netherlands Indies in the same sense. The Indians in British India are a tremendous political force. The Indian National Congress is pledged to attainment of independence, and Congress cabinets are functioning in seven out of eleven provinces. But in the Netherlands Indies political consciousness is primitive, the autonomy movement is closely held in check, and the governor general rules almost as he pleases. There is an electorate of some 35,000,000 in British India. But in the Netherlands Indies there is hardly an electorate at all. A Volksraad, or people's assembly, does exist, but twenty-two of its sixty members are appointed, and the others are elected on a very limited franchise. The Volksraad may not even initiate legislation, and the Parliament in Holland has the right to countervene any measure it may adopt.

Yet despite the rigidity of the Dutch system it has certain characteristics which make for closer relations between Dutch and native than exist between British and Indian. For one thing, the land of the Netherlands Indies may not be bought or sold, even by Dutchmen; its title is vested in the people and it may be held only on lease. In British India, on the other hand, all land belongs, in theory at least, to the British crown. Again, the Dutch civil service, called the Binnenlandch Bestuur, seems to get closer to the people than the Civil Service in British India. Native administrators called regents, even though they work under Dutch residents or governors, have considerable local influence and authority. Again, in the vital matter of personal relations the Dutch have more liberal views than the British. In the old days intermarriage between Dutch and natives was encouraged. Whereas in British India a half-caste is considered a black and labors under much social and official handicap, in the Netherlands Indies a half-caste is considered a white man and may obtain important jobs in administration.

In 1933 a series of very severe "crisis measures" was introduced in the Netherlands Indies. The object was to counteract the ravages of the world depression; in four years the total trade of the islands had fallen 69 per cent. The new decrees gave the governor general the right to limit and license both imports and exports, to control local trade and industry, to fix prices, to decide whether a business could or could not expand. The budget was slashed almost in half, from a 1929 figure of 763,364,000 guilders to 485,706,000 in 1933. Taxes went up; salaries went down. The remedies were drastic, and the patient just managed to recover. Accompanying the crisis decrees came some pretty big steps toward political dictatorship. The governor was given power to

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outlaw any political party, to abolish public meetings, to forbid political activity by government servants, and to control the posts, telephones, telegrams, and local transportation.

The pinch of the crisis decrees plus resentment at what seemed excessive political regimentation produced much grumbling. One result was what came to be called the Dominion Status bill, which requested the Queen "to take steps to see that the government of the Netherlands Indies was administered in accordance with terms of Article I of the constitution." This was a veiled hint at dominion status, since Article I of the constitution provides for equality of the Dutch colonies and the home country. The bill was passed on June 15, 1937, the Eurasians, or half-castes, who are usually more Dutch than the Dutch, voting with the native Nationalists. The home government has referred the petition back to the governor, who has called it a very serious and far-reaching matter; there at the moment the movement for dominion status rests.

The Nationalists are in two groups. The moderates are afraid of Japan, which tends to dampen their ardor, since they prefer Dutch rule to Japanese. They do not want to cut the ties with Holland if this would make Japanese penetration possible. They want dominion status. The extremists, on the other hand, who call themselves "non-cooperative," want independence. The grievances of the Nationalists are several. The first and most important is that Holland sucks all the wealth out of the country, that the Indies are run for exploitation and profit by the home government. The Indies, they say, give Holland life-blood and get little in return. Second, they accuse the Dutch administration of deliberately starving the educational system. This tends to keep the people in subjection and to prevent the normal growth of political aspirations. Third, they call the crisis measures unnecessary and oppressive.

Overwhelmingly the dominant problem of the Netherlands Indies is Japan. The war in China has thrown a vivid spotlight on the possibility of eventual Japanese penetration to the south. In Malaya and Singapore, by and large, I found an atmosphere of confidence. The Singapore base is in a way a monument, a tribute, to Japan's potentialities, but it serves to reassure Britain. The Dutch are frightened—though they don't like to admit it—because they cannot defend themselves. Holland is not a poor country, but it could not afford a military expenditure sufficient to make the Indies impregnable. One might think that the Dutch would assume that the Japanese will be busy in China for a long time, their hands too full for other adventures, but on the contrary the success of Japan in China is what worries the islands most. One adventure sometimes suggests another. An additional point, the Dutch say, is that the Japanese army in China is earning such kudos that the Japanese navy might be tempted to imitate its success in adjacent fields. This seems pretty far-fetched. But the Dutch are alarmed from every angle. I do not accuse the Japanese of aggressive intentions toward the Netherlands Indies. But I do know that ten out of every ten Dutchmen I met thought that Japan had hungry eyes on the Indies.

The Dutch assert that Japanese agents are busy already on the islands. They tell scare stories of Japanese reserve officers disguised as laundrymen, of Japanese fishing boats which are preliminary eyes for Japan's navy. Recently a Japanese trader, prowling in coastal waters, was fired on and sunk by Dutch guards. One story, which I could not confirm, described a Japanese timber concession near Balikpapan, in Borneo, where tracts of forest were supposed to have been cleared as secret landing fields for aircraft. Another story tells of a landing field —Dutch—near Samarang, Java, supposedly secret in location. Japanese spies found it. But the Dutch continue to call it their only "secret" field in the hope that the Japanese won't find others which really are tucked away.

Emperor Hirohito

The Dutch appear to be rather suspicious of their own natives in military matters. The native troops, for instance, are not allowed to train with machine-guns or heavy guns. Natives are not permitted to visit Dutch warships. So when a Japanese cruiser called at Cheribon, Java, it was smart Japanese tactics to invite the native population aboard. The Dutch, in fact, accuse the Japanese of encouraging and secretly subsidizing the more outspokenly anti-Dutch of the native political groups.

Dutch military preparation is active. The experts know that the islands could not be defended—not all of them at any rate—from comprehensive or major attack, but they are busily intent on making such an attack costly to the attacker. This, unfortunately, costs money. The Netherlands Indies defense budget went up from about 90,000,000 guilders in 1936-37 to not less than 135,000,000 in 1937-38. Part of the cost is being defrayed by a 2 per cent export tax. The rule is that the home government supports the navy, the Indies government the army. As there is no separate air force, wings being attached to both army and navy, aviation cost is split.

The Dutch navy in Indies waters would be no match for Japan; it has no battleships and only four cruisers. There are eight to ten destroyers and perhaps a dozen

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submarines; nine more submarines are being built. A naval base exists at Sourabaya, at the other end of Java from Batavia. The army is proportionately stronger, and it is believed that the Indies could put about 50,000 fighting men in the field, perhaps more. Most attention is paid to the air force. The navy is buying Dornier DO 24 K bombers in considerable number; forty-two are supposed to be available at the moment. The army, like the K. L. M., buys from the United States; recently forty Glenn Martin bombers arrived, and it is believed that as many more are on order. American engineers and instructors are on duty at Bandoeng, the mountain town three hours from Batavia which is army headquarters.

The major line of Dutch defense is to rely on diplomacy, which means, in a word, support from England. And British support should be forthcoming if London has any sense (something occasionally doubted these days), because an enemy in the East Indies would cut the line from Australia to India and would endanger Singapore. If diplomacy fails, the Dutch hope to fend off attack by mines, by submarines, and by attack on an enemy fleet from the air. I heard hush-hush talk of an air base built on Ambon, an islet between Borneo and New Guinea. Recently Batavia was treated to an experimental blackout. It was judged successful, though one American bomber crashed. But probably the Japanese know by this time where Batavia is.

Japanese commercial penetration is also a preoccupation in the Indies. For many years Japanese business was unimportant; roughly, from 1914 to 1929 it did not exceed 10 per cent of the total import trade. But after the crash of 1929 the Japanese began to undersell the countries of the West and to multiply their exports to the Indies. In 1928, for example, Holland contributed 20.05 per cent of the islands' imports and Japan only 9.54 per cent. But in 1934 the Dutch share of imports dropped to 12.98 per cent, and Japan's share rose to 31.88 per cent. Alarmed, the Dutch proceeded to impose quota restrictions on Japanese products, and decreed that a certain proportion of Japanese exports to the Indies—38 per cent—must be carried in Dutch ships. Even so, Japanese textiles, shoes, chemicals, rubber goods, bicycles, cotton goods, and so on continued to be pumped into the islands. The home country found it impossible to compete with Japanese low wages plus the depreciation of the yen. A Japanese-Dutch trade conference took place in Batavia, but broke up after six months of wrangling when the Japanese demanded not only trade rights in the Outer Possessions (Borneo, Sumatra, New Guinea, and other islands) but the right to "develop" them, development presumably meaning agricultural and mineral concessions.

The Netherlands Indies might be called the Big Loot of the whole South Pacific region. Consider the wealth, actual and potential, of islands which could produce all of the world's rubber, all of its quinine, and much of its coffee, and which at the moment do produce 20 per cent of the world's tin, 20 per cent of its copra, 11 per cent of its oil, 12 per cent of its tea, about 50 per cent of its wrapped tobacco, and a good share of its pepper, cloves, and other spices. No wonder the Dutch, their pockets full, fear that the Japanese have eyes on these riches.

But in any consideration of Japanese policy in this area, as well as of repercussions to that policy, one must keep three other spots in mind, not counting Singapore. First, Indo-China. Here the French are beginning to worry about complications which the war in China may bring. If the Chinese should lose the great port of Canton, or should be dislodged from Hankow, they would have to retreat farther to the southwest, and then their only outlet to the sea—and to supplies—would be the railway from Yunnanfu to the French port of Haifong. And it happens that this railway is a French railway. It is French property, serving a French port; and the French wouldn't like to see it bombed. The French are worried too by Japanese attacks on the Chinese island of Hainan. This island, part of the province of Kwangtung, lies directly opposite northern Indo-China. Several times the Japanese have bombarded the chief port, Hoihow, and attempted to make a landing, so far without success. The French would dislike it extremely should the Japanese appropriate this island: it commands Hanoi, the second town of Indo-China, and its occupation would, in effect, bring Tokyo very close to French interests.

Second, Siam. Here, in the only independent country in southeastern Asia, Japanese influence is profound. There are no British, French, or Dutch for Japan to worry about—only Siamese. The Siamese authorities deny with vigor—and truth, I think—the allegation that Japanese counsels dominate their policy; they laugh when you repeat stories that Siam is becoming a Japanese puppet state, but they admit that Japanese firms do big business in Siam, that Siam buys warships and much military equipment from Japan, and that a Japanese company is charged with the dredging and reconstruction of Bangkok harbor.

Third, the Philippines. Obviously if the Philippines get complete freedom in 1946, as the Tydings-McDuffie Act provides, Japan's already considerable interest in Manila and its environs may increase. At least most Filipinos think so, which accounts for their sudden coolness to the idea of complete and final severance from the United States. The Filipinos would like to be free, but they don't want to break off from America if it means being gobbled by Japan. The Dutch watch our Philippine policy carefully. If we let the islands go, they will be in a much more serious position vis-a-vis Japan. In fact, if we let them go, the Dutch will call us crazy, and accuse us of imperiling their own rich bag.

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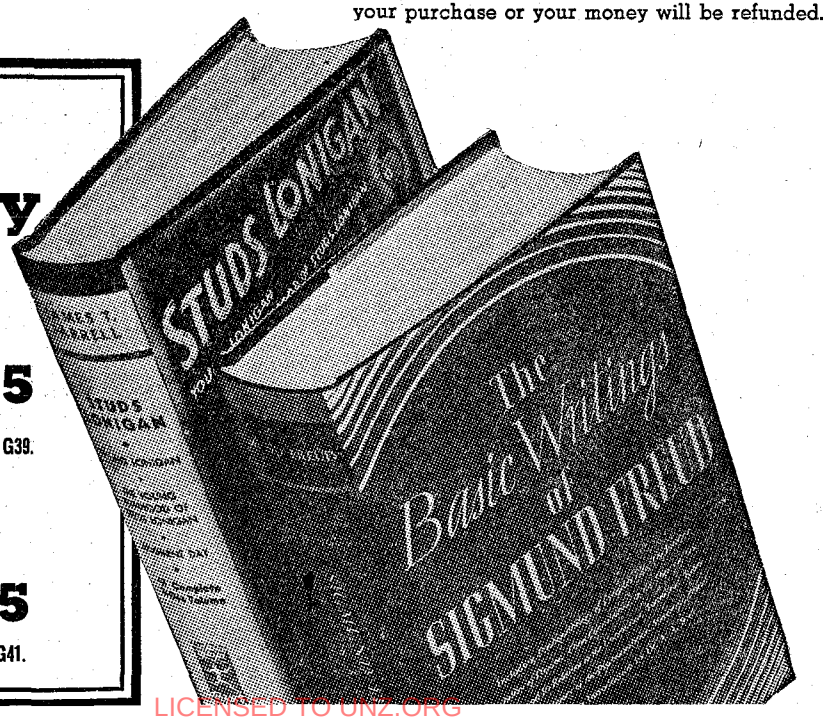

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Chile as a Nazi Outpost

BY TH. TETENS AND LUDWIG LORE

WITH a new world war tragically imminent, the Third Reich is bending every effort to establish itself on the South American continent. The German General Staff had high hopes that the Integralist putsch engineered by a conspiracy of Brazilian military men would give it control of the Brazilian government, but its expectations proved ill-founded, for the time at least. When the Brazilian putsch failed, Germany turned to Chile as the next best possibility. Strategically Chile is held by the German General Staff to be of extraordinary importance. Germany bases its war plans on the principle that in the event of a new international conflict all shipments from South America to Europe and the United States must be interrupted at once. All official publications of the German Admiralty call for a rigorous curtailment of overseas commerce from the first day of the war.

To carry out this strategy Germany must have outposts in various parts of South America from which land, naval, and air forces may be launched. It has therefore been the German government's aim for many years to place persons whom it controls in positions of power in South American states and by this means to obtain bases from which to conduct operations in case of war. Vice-Admiral Gadow advised the creation of such bases two years ago when he wrote:

> We must be farsighted in our policies. . . . This is especially true in the matter of naval outposts. The further a people extends its interest overseas, the more necessary it becomes to protect these interests, and to create adequate outposts. . . . Indeed, the past has shown that the strength and efficiency of a great sea power's naval outposts play an important and often decisive part in its foreign policy. (*Militärwissenchaftliche Rundschau*, Jahrgang 1936, Heft 4, page 492.)

German naval strategists are of the opinion that Germany, lacking naval outposts of its own overseas, must seek alliances in all parts of the world so as to obtain the use of the naval bases of friendly nations for its operations. This is held to be an important peace-time task that must be performed with all possible energy. It is the foundation of all naval war-time operations, since the German navy must begin any new conflict by waging relentless war on the enemy's merchant marine. In this war U-boats and fast cruisers in large numbers would play an important part.

The coast of southern Chile and the Straits of Magellan at the southernmost point of the continent figure largely in German strategic plans. Naval experts are all agreed that here are the best possible positions for operations both east and west of South America. Countless hidden bays offer concealment to cruisers and submarines, and a rich hinterland is an inexhaustible source of supplies. Moreover, living in southern Chile are tens of thousands of Germans who distinguished themselves in the last war by their fanatical support of German interests. Three volumes published by the German Admiralty deal with Chile's importance for German naval operations. In a foreword Admiral Raeder affirms that the operations of Count Spee's famous World War squadron would have been impossible without the active assistance of the Germans living there.

What southern Chile would be to the German navy in another war, Colombia would be to the Air Ministry. And if the Panama Canal were to be crippled or destroyed by bombing planes taking off from Colombia, the Germans intrenched along the Straits of Magellan and in the Azores would practically control all transport in the South as well as the North Atlantic. The situation of the democratic countries would then be seriously affected.

Years ago the German Admiralty assured itself of the islands of Juan Fernandez—Mas a Tierra and Mas a Fuera—off the coast of central Chile by a very simple expedient. German naval officers and sailors with a love for the beauties of these Pacific islands were sent to Mas a Tierra, popularly believed to be the island of Robinson Crusoe, to make it their permanent home. About a year ago Goebbels sent another shipload of Germans to this island to produce the story of Robinson Crusoe for the films. Nominally these islands, which lie in the Pacific about a thousand kilometers from Valparaiso, belong to Chile; actually the Germans are in complete control. According to the Valparaiso *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* of January 9, 1938, the Chilean government made a certain Hugo Weber, a survivor of the squadron of Count Spee, guardian of the island as a "national park." That the "fishing station" which the Germans built in its easily accessible harbor would become a station for German U-boats and seaplanes in a future war can hardly be doubted. When Japan took possession of several deserted Chinese islands in September, 1937, and turned them into air bases, Major General Carl Haushofer commented:

> This merely confirms what we have always maintained, that important island naval bases can be created in peace times without a great deal of noisy prepara-

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> tion. Modern technical facilities make it possible to transform a desolate spot into a valuable naval outpost with a handful of men and a boatload of equipment. (*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik,* Heft 11, page 947.)

The first German immigrants came to southern Chile more than a hundred years ago. Since then three generations of Germans have lived and prospered there, but they still speak the German language, keep up a distinctly German culture, and feel a deep allegiance to the Reich from which their forefathers sprang. Chile's Germans have always held more or less aloof from the native population. They are the business men, the traders, and the great merchant princes of the country, well off financially and with a well-defined social status. They have their own schools, churches, organizations, and press. Three times a week German radio stations broadcast special programs in German and Spanish of interest to the South American population. German motion pictures are shown in German motion-picture houses, many of which are subsidized from the Reich propaganda fund. Speakers, exchange professors, actors, and artists of all kinds are sent from the Reich and receive an enthusiastic reception.

It is not an accident that the National Socialist parties of South America all originated in the early part of 1932. That was the period in which the National Socialist Party of Germany became a real power and obtained the backing of some of the richest industrialists in the Reich. There was money enough and to spare for the party's needs, and well-paid agents went forth to all parts of the world to organize sentiment for the National Socialist movement in preparation for its imminent rise to full power. The work of these propagandists has borne rich fruit. Besides building up a strong Nazi movement which is permeating the native population with its fascist ideology, they increased Germany's trade with South America until today it is greater than that of Great Britain or the United States. German ships carry by far the largest part of South America's trade and passenger traffic. Between Europe and Chile they have what amounts to a monopoly, and bring in an uninterrupted stream of National Socialist propaganda material.

The Chilean branch of the National Socialist Party is called the Movemente Nacional Socialista. Popularly it is known as the "Nacismo," and its members are called "Nacistas." The leaders of the movement are German Chileans who work in close cooperation with Berlin. On April 2, 1937, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* reported that the Chilean party had a "self-sacrificing membership of from 40,000 to 50,000." A dozen or so German-language publications are issued, among them the party's daily organ, the *Trabajo.* The acknowledged head of the party is Jorge Gonzales von Marées; his associates are Dr. Carlos Keller, the author of the party's agrarian program, and Dr. Schwarzenberg, the leader of the republican militia.

The program of the Movemente Nacional Socialista agrees in all fundamentals with that of the German National Socialist Party. It is anti-parliamentarian and anti-liberal, is based on the leadership principle, and aims at the creation of a single united South American authoritarian state. It proposes as a method of "agrarian reform" a sort of single taxism that would force the owners of idle land to put it to work and compel the owners of large holdings to divide and sell their possessions.

In the beginning serious differences of opinion arose over the question of race discrimination. The German population supported the anti-Semitic program of the German Nazis to the limit, but the not inconsiderable following of native Chileans was opposed to Hitler's race doctrines and in general tended to support the Italian rather than the German type of fascism. With the consolidation of the Rome-Berlin axis these differences have largely disappeared. While the Nacismo has never taken a clear stand on the question of anti-Semitism, it excludes Jews from membership and wages relentless war on Free Masons and the Catholic church.

German diplomats and agents in Chile are on the most intimate terms with men in high military and political office. General Ibañez, the Nazis' presidential candidate and the leader of the recent putsch, has been known for years as a follower of Hitler. Numerous Chilean officers were trained in the Reich. Prussian officers functioned as drillmasters and instructors of Latin America's armies for more than a generation, and the intimacies thus developed have had a good deal to do with the cordial relations existing between the Third Reich and South American governments. Chile was particularly favored in this regard. The Nazi Senator Ahrens from Hamburg, who has many connections with South America, once called Chile the "Prussia of South America." The *La Plata Zeitung* said on October 11, 1936:

> It is largely due to the good work of their German instructors that the Chilean troops can hold up their heads anywhere in the world. The Prussian spirit in the Chilean army is a fact that should fill every German with special pride.

When Hitler came to power German agents got to work at once on the Chilean officers, with the result that today many of the highest military officials in the country are ruthless supporters of Hitler's policies. Special attention was paid to the officers of the air service. Relations between Germany and Chilean aviation could hardly be closer. The chief of the Chilean air service, General Aracena, was the guest of the German government in 1937 and was entertained with marked cordiality by prominent German statesmen. His son went to Germany for his air training last year. This friendship has brought Germany not only political advantages but also such tangible benefits as a large order for airplanes from the Chilean aviation service.

Among influential Chileans who are supporting the

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German cause one could mention Ross, the former Minister of Finance, who, invited by the Reich government, paid a long visit to Germany in 1937; Miguel Cruschaga, formerly Foreign Minister, now president of the Senate and also president of the German-Chilean Culture Institute; and Senator Alberto Haverbeck. Nazi propaganda in Chile, both commercial and political, is directed sharply against Great Britain and the United States. It harps on the necessity of freeing the smaller states from financial subservience to Wall Street and the London City.

The purpose of the recent Nazi putsch in Chile was to give the country a regime that would openly cooperate with Germany's military plans in the Pacific. Fortunately the Alessandri government kept the upper hand. On the firmness of its attitude in the future and the strength of its precautionary measures will depend whether these German agents and their Chilean friends will continue to be a source of fascist infection in the New World. As this article is written, the cables report from Chile that three Cabinet members have already resigned and been replaced as a result of the Nazi revolt. Just what this will mean for the development of Chilean politics is not clear as yet. Certainly the Nazi movement is by no means beaten. Investigation disclosed that 12,000 persons contributed funds to the party in recent months. We may expect new uprisings in Chile and in other Latin American countries, for Nazi agents are notoriously hard to discourage.

Just as Spain was invaded because of its strategic importance in a possible war of the fascist powers against France and Great Britain, so Latin America is being contended for as a base of operations from which Germany's military, naval, and air forces might launch a decisive attack on the United States and the Panama Canal in the coming world war.

In the Wind

DURING THE controversy stirred by Professor William Gellermann's study of the American Legion the New York *Herald Tribune* published a lengthy editorial evaluating the survey's findings. The bulk of the editorial was an indictment of the Legion's leadership for its advocacy of the bonus and its apathy toward civil liberties; it also assailed the vigilante methods used by some Legion posts. In the final paragraph, however, the editorial paid tribute to the individual members of the Legion. Recently the *American Legion Monthly* featured an excerpt from a *Herald Tribune* editorial praising the Legion. It turns out to be the same editorial—with all except the final paragraph deleted.

A CANADIAN newspaper reports that the Oxford movement is making impressive inroads among the head-hunter tribes of the Papuan jungle. It quotes Geoffrey Baskett of the Kwata mission in Papua as declaring that 300 head-hunters have been won over in the past sixteen months. Mr. Baskett reports that sorcerers are even apologizing to the relatives of those they have put to death.

ALTHOUGH AMERICAN correspondents report that the Loyalists are still clinging to their positions on the insurgent side of the Ebro, Franco's newspapers had them routed many weeks ago. In fact, on August 8 one rebel paper described in detail the "success" of the insurgent counter-attacks, attributing it entirely to the role played by Franco himself. The story announced that "the Leader, always calm, with his eyes on reality and not on the spectacular element in the war, replied to the 'reds' as he did in Brunete, Belchite, and Teruel."

IN MANY newspapers the columns of Westbrook Pegler and Eleanor Roosevelt are featured in close proximity to each other; in the Worcester *Evening Gazette* recently this resulted in a strange jumbling of type and the following shifts of style:

MR. PEGLER: "Johnny and Anne decided that they had to go back to Boston this morning to begin getting settled."

MRS. ROOSEVELT: "The big blonde began to roll her eyes and squeeze the little bald guy's hand. It looked like the rent all right."

BOOM NOTE: "Disclosed by the report of the National Resources Committee is the fact that the submerged one-third of the nation's population . . . has an average family income of $471 year—which is considerably above utter pauperism." —From an editorial in the Tampa, Florida, *Tribune*.

A YOUTHFUL Austrian refugee reports that the teachers in the all-Jewish school she attended in Vienna are now outspoken Nazis; Jewish teachers are barred from all schools. Each day the Nazi-instructed children in the all-Jewish school sing the psalm "Gott erhalte Israel" ("God Preserve Israel").

ARCHITECTURAL NOTE: Italy's Minister of National Education has announced a competition for an architectural project on a religious subject. The competition is described as a "project for a Catholic Christian temple to be erected on Spanish soil where the battle was most terrific and the holocaust of the Italian legions in defense of Latin civilization and Spanish independence was most generous. The architectural design must respect Latin feeling for religion and country."

REPORTS OF a new phase of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo movie axis are now current in film circles here. A number of wealthy Japanese-American importers of Seattle and the Northwest are said to have raised a fund of $8,000,000 to build studios in Brazil which will make fascist films for circulation throughout the world. An American representative of the interests backing the venture has been quietly combing Hollywood for personnel.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

The Disaster in Europe

NO EVENT except our entry into the World War ever gave me a greater shock than the news of the complete surrender of France and England to Hitler and their consent to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. I well appreciate the terrible character of the decision with which the British Cabinet was confronted. It felt that it faced making war in cold blood; in 1914, at least, when England decided to go in, the Germans were in Belgium, the Austrians were fighting in Serbia, and a war was really on. Surely no more difficult decision ever faced a Cabinet than this question of risking a war which might easily result in the complete destruction of London, the greatest capital in the world. But still I cannot believe that Hitler would have dared to go to war if Rumania, Russia, England, and France had served notice on him that they would never consent to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Perhaps it was a game of bluff on both sides. If so, Hitler certainly won. His force of personality triumphed at Berchtesgaden over that of Chamberlain; his will controlled. The outcome is one of the most fearful injustices in the history of the modern world.

Then, I may be asked again, "You favored war against Hitler?" By no means. I am as resolute against war as I ever was. The difficulty right along has been that the British government and its allies have failed to avail themselves of far more deadly weapons than guns and airplanes and warships—the boycott and non-intercourse. A great and powerful leader in England would have served notice on Hitler that if he moved on Czechoslovakia, Germany would be peacefully shut out of the family of nations. The time to have done that was, of course, when Hitler moved into the Rhineland. He would have had to retire with his tail between his legs had he been told by France, England, and Belgium at that time that no German and no German communication could cross the frontiers, and that there must be complete cessation of every business transaction with the nations in the British group. This would have been only a partial boycott, I admit, but at that time Germany could not have stood up against it. Indeed, I do not think it could stand up against a boycott now when it is dependent upon the outer world for so many things that are absolutely essential to its armament program. If anyone has any doubt about this, let him read the article by Professor Willson Woodside in the current *Harper's Magazine*, which tells the truth about Germany's economic situation from the point of view of its capacity to wage war.

Because England and the League of Nations have yielded to Hitler at every step of his advance, the German dictator has become the dictator of Europe, the most powerful man in the world. The Allies yielded on the Rhineland, yielded on Ethiopia, yielded on Spain, yielded on Austria, and now yield and consent to the most brutal rape of a country yet recorded. Talk about tearing up the Treaty of Versailles! If there is anything left of it, this is the final destruction, the final collapse of everything that Woodrow Wilson plumed himself upon achieving at Paris. Does anyone remember now that when he returned after signing the treaty he told his fellow-citizens that he had achieved every single thing he set out to accomplish? The worst of it is that every time these French and English statesmen have yielded to Hitler they thought that the last concession would content him. Nothing will content him. With the Sudeten Mountains in his possession, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and what is left of Czechoslovakia will be his for the taking any time he is ready to move. There is nothing to stop him short of Constantinople. He will have all those states in an economic union in six months or less if he so desires, and then he will move on the Ukraine. Has France forgotten that he said in "Mein Kampf" that he would never be satisfied until France was forever destroyed?

For England this is the greatest disaster in its history. It degrades it to the position of a second- or third-rate power, and France sinks even lower. France, the country that was so especially outraged when Germany tore up its treaty with Belgium and marched into that country in 1914, now is violating its treaty of offense and defense with Czechoslovakia and actually asking Germany to walk in! I cannot see a single redeeming feature in this horrible event save only that we have escaped war—if Czechoslovakia yields, as it certainly must in the face of such black treachery and such overwhelming force. As for democracy everywhere, this is a stab in the back. I hope no one will ever speak to me again about collective security, with ourselves lined up with England and France. After the betrayal of Spain and Czechoslovakia, as well as Ethiopia, I don't see how we can ever have faith in a British government again. I see ahead only the break-up of the British Empire by Hitler and the mere postponement of the war which Chamberlain and Daladier, sincerely no doubt, have sought to avoid.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ANOTHER BATTLE OF THE BOOKS

BY CHARLES A. BEARD

THE publication of this volume* is an event in American historiography. The author is an indefatigable worker in the field of interest, and his writings are distinguished by freshness of materials, critical acumen, and verve of style. That he finds it worth while to turn aside from his researches to consider the nature of history itself indicates a growing concern with the methods and operations of historians, professional and amateur. And that concern implies that the writing of history on the basis of what John R. Commons calls "our habitual assumptions" is on the verge of having a sharper examination, which can scarcely fail to enrich thought about history, including everything human that happens under that rubric.

The major portion of Mr. Nevins's volume is devoted to a consideration of the materials from which history is written and the methods of historians. Twelve of his fourteen chapters deal with primitive materials for history, the mighty torrent of materials that began to flow with writing and printing, the misleading document, the garbled document, Pilate on evidence, problems of historical construction and interpretation, ideas in history (religious, political, philosophical, and sociological, for instance), geographical conditionalities, society and history, biography and the great-man theory, literary aspects of history, and the reading of history. Appendices embrace brief historical reading lists, bibliographical aids to research, and a short list of works on the study of history.

All these chapters give the reader food for thought, even when he may be moved to dissent here and there from this or that particular proposition. Students and general readers of history are put on their guard against accepting "evidence" and "testimony" lightly, against running any theory into the ground, against assuming that a dull page must be true and a purple passage must be false, against believing in the necessary validity of a heavily documented chapter. Besides uttering many timely warnings, Mr. Nevins presents a large amount of pertinent information respecting writers of history and their works that ought to be a part of the equipment of students, writers, and readers in this field. With nearly all schools, except the theological and philosophical, he has great patience and seeks to show their specific contributions to the main stream of historical research and writing.

Although all of the twelve chapters which constitute the body of the book carry statements, implications, and assumptions relative to the inner nature of historical writing itself, that subject is specifically covered in a chapter entitled History versus the Dogmatists. Mr. Nevins gives his definition on page 22: "History is any integrated narrative or description of past events or facts written in a spirit of critical inquiry for the whole truth. A definition which attempts to be more precise than this is certain to be misleading." On this definition he stands, while cheerfully conceding (page 25): "Few historians of the first rank will admit that a different conception of historical aims is as good as their own." And when writing in a spirit of critical inquiry for the whole truth what is the historian actually to do? Mr. Nevins answers on page 27: "Having accumulated his facts, the historian must discover their logical connection with each other, the laws which rule them, and their significance for the period studied and for our own time." This is an excursion into causation, apparently, for Mr. Nevins adds on page 214: "Historians generally accept the statement that the cause of any occurrence lies in one or more preceding events without which the occurrence would not have taken place."

Is history, then, a science? It would seem to be, if we are dealing with causal or deterministic sequences in time. But Mr. Nevins declares (page 29): "It is obvious, of course, that history is not a science in the sense in which physics, chemistry, and astronomy deserve that term. . . . We have no precise laws in history as we have precise laws in physics, chemistry, and mathematics. . . . The historian . . . will formulate conclusions as to tendencies and lay these down as laws." And yet, "science, as the word is more properly understood, is not confined to physics and chemistry," and while "history cannot demonstrate so many uniform and enduring conclusions as biology," "in essentials it is as much a science, and no more a science."

In support of this general conception of history, as indeed for the illustrations contained in the main body of his book, Mr. Nevins draws principally upon nineteenth-century works. He is clearly more at home and more comfortable in dealing with Macaulay, Mommsen, Ranke, Buckle, Parkman, Langlois, and Seignobos, for

* "The Gateway to History." By Allan Nevins. D. Appleton-Century Company. $4.

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example, than in traveling outside such charmed and charming circles.

The conception of historical writing and its nature which Mr. Nevins puts forward with assurance, as if established beyond all debate, has been challenged during the past twenty-five or thirty years by some of the most powerful minds of Europe in the field of historical thought; for example, by Benedetto Croce, Kurt Riezler, M. Scheler, and Karl Heussi. To their writings Mr. Nevins does not apply "a spirit of critical inquiry for the whole truth," which he makes an essential characteristic of correct historiography. For instance, he gives a generous amount of space to Buckle and, as far as I can discover, no consideration at all to Croce. Moreover, in his preface he exclaims with some evidence of temper that he is not "worrying about that pseudo-philosophic jargon upon Historismus, frames of reference, patterns of culture, and cyclical phases of causation which I no more understand than do most of its users."

Now it so happens that I have been among the first in America to urge upon historians the study of these very writers on Historismus, whose "jargon" Mr. Nevins dismisses without critical examination. He is aware of this and takes me for a ride as an abettor of fascism on page 43: "Charles A. Beard has urged that American scholars turn to 'the task of exploring the assumptions upon which the selection and organization of historical facts proceed.' " Then Mr. Nevins adds: "not with the object of reducing the role of assumption but with that of enlarging and emphasizing it. The implication is that one set of assumptions would be chosen as sounder than another set, and an effort would be made to organize historical writing upon this set of preconceptions. This is the doctrine to which historical writing has bowed under state pressure in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy; it is a doctrine which regards truth as purely relative and pragmatic. Those who have a higher ideal of truth will, while admitting that their effort to attain it is often doomed to failure, never give up the attempt."

My article from which Mr. Nevins takes a single line (and adds his implications) and other articles of a similar character have made quite a storm in historical circles. One distinguished historian has called me a "defeatist" and a "sophist." An editor of *The Nation* has set me down as "a village atheist." An economist has written and circulated a pamphlet "showing me up." And now Mr. Nevins links me with fascism and speaks of his "higher ideal." Since this is so and the point he makes is the crux of the whole business of writing history, it seems appropriate for me to explore in a spirit of critical inquiry the matters at issue and to state as simply as I can just what my position is.

I have said: (1) Every historian is a person, born, reared, and educated in some time, place, and social milieu; (2) some assumptions, preferences, or aims have entered into, if not controlled, the selection, arrangement, and emphasis of facts made by all historians, at least those of the first rank, such as Voltaire, Gibbon, Macaulay, Mommsen, Buckle, and Ranke, for example; (3) an all-around appreciation of any historical work calls for a knowledge of the author and of the assumptions or preconceptions entering into his writings; (4) everyone who writes history ought to explore such preconceptions; (5) all work, whether in science or history, does rest and must rest upon some assumptions which cannot be "proved"; and (6) knowledge of this fact is the beginning of wisdom and humility.

These propositions I shall test by Mr. Nevins's own statements and contentions. In his search for an understanding of historical writings, he certainly relates authors and their ideas to their setting—social, political, and cultural. Why do it? Mr. Nevins says (page 25) that few historians of the first rank will admit that "a different conception of historical *aims* [italics mine] is as good as their own." Again (page 39), "Every true historian has a mind formed by practical experience and observation"—in part presumably before he begins to write history. Again (page 199), "Everyone recognizes the five or six principal sentiments which dominate men: racial feeling, national feeling, local feeling, political feeling, religious or sectarian feeling, class feeling, professional or vocational feeling, and the feeling of attachment to particular codes of morals. . . . Few men even try systematically to prevent the growth of irrational likes or dislikes of certain doctrines, institutions, ideas, and organizations, while those who do try *never quite succeed* [italics mine]." "It is safe to assert that more than half the historians now writing bring *insensibly* [italics mine] to their interpretation of the facts at least some fragmentary ideas" taken from Darwinism (page 265). "The unpredictable or fortuitous elements are so much vaster still [than irrational elements] that no conceivable formulae can ever deal with the past or present in any spirit of certainty" (page 309). Again, "Written history is in the deepest sense the world of our epistemological construction of reality" (page 276). "The spirit of doubt, of scientific criticism, is the beginning of wisdom in historical study. Nothing must be taken for granted; everything must be subjected to strict rules of evidence" (page 211). And more in the same vein.

On his own showing, it seems to me, Mr. Nevins admits the existence of preconceptions among historians, concedes that, however hard they try, they cannot "quite" get rid of their preconceptions, confesses that no historical formula guarantees "certainty," in other words, absolute truth as against relative truth, and tells us not to take anything for granted but to apply the spirit of doubt and scientific criticism. If so, then Mr. Nevins supports my contention that there are and ever will be preconceptions in historical writing, that we should not take them for

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granted but explore them, and that absolute truth of history is denied to us by the complexity of history, the fragmentary character of our records, and the frailties of our minds. I have never said that, because knowledge of the whole and the absolute truth (Mr. Nevins's higher ideal) is denied to us, we should not search for all the truths we can find with unremitting energies. To admit that one is not God may be defeatism, but it is a confession that has the appearance of "truth."

One more point is germane. How can my urging scholars to explore their preconceptions of all grades lend any sanction to fascism? Certainly the fascists assert preposterous preconceptions and forbid the exploration of any, even their own. And it is a melancholy fact to me, but highly significant, that the historians who quickly bowed to the Nazi or fascist mania were historians who had vociferously proclaimed that they were writing history "as it actually had been," that is, according to the "higher ideal" which Mr. Nevins and his school embrace. The historian of distinction in Italy who remained there boldly and refused to degrade himself into the dust before Mussolini, who suffered indignities at the hands of Fascists, was Benedetto Croce, whose "jargon" Mr. Nevins so lightly dismisses. Who, after all, have been the tyrants and persecutors in history: the inquiring skeptics who have applied the Socratic elenchus to their own assumptions, or the men who have proclaimed themselves the possessors of the "higher ideal" of "the whole truth," that is, absolute certainty?

My idea of exploring preconceptions may be illustrated by reference to three of Mr. Nevins's statements. He gives high praise to Adam Smith. I join him in that praise. But as Thorstein Veblen showed in his critical analysis, Smith proceeded on the basis of unexamined assumptions concerning "the natural order" and "the natural course" and then introduced "an invisible hand" (of God) to justify his fundamental faith in the excellence of the natural order and the natural course. On page 271 Mr. Nevins says that Macaulay wrote history according to his "individual bent" rather than according to "any school of thought" or "any special interpretation." Over against that judgment I place John Morley's devastating essay on Macaulay. According to Morley, "Macaulay was one of the middle-class crowd in his heart," that is, took the whole body of middle-class preconceptions for granted. Despite his "resplendent rhetoric" and his genius for narration, Macaulay wrote Whig history. In fact, Mr. Nevins, 230 pages earlier (page 40), says himself that Macaulay wrote "as a Whig." Then Macaulay had preconceptions and predilections, not merely an "individual bent." Finally, Mr. Nevins pays tribute to Mommsen as "thoroughly trained in sociological ideas, the comparative method, and the study of institutions" (page 308). With this judgment should be associated also the judgment of Eduard Meyer, one of the most famous of the historians who have written on ancient times; he said of Mommsen's Roman history: "One can learn more from this work about liberalism in the fifties than about the whole history of Rome to the death of Caesar."

Out of the North

MEEK HERITAGE. By F. E. Sillanpää. Translated from the Finnish by Alexander Matson. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

HORNS FOR OUR ADORNMENT. By Aksel Sandemose. Translated from the Norwegian by Eugene Gay-Tifft. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IMAGES IN A MIRROR. By Sigrid Undset. Translated by Arthur G. Chater. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

NOW that Finland has found a place in the sun and pays its debts and plans to act as host for the next Olympic games, everyone thinks of it naturally as a pretty prosperous, cheerful place, but at the time the book now first translated as "Meek Heritage" was written—that is, in 1919—the little northern country was just emerging from a gloomy past that reached back for centuries. And Sillanpää, who is today Finland's greatest living writer, sketched here in somber, unrelieved tones the life of a typical peasant, Jussi Toivola, and his hopeless struggles against a grim climate and an unfair social order.

Certainly Jussi's humble career has nothing of heroic material in it. It is a grimmer, less sensational "Tobacco Road" of the Far North; a long succession of grinding, dispiriting hardships and defeats gradually reduces the well-meaning but incompetent protagonist to a doddering old pauper, father of an undernourished, unhealthy brood living on a plane only slightly higher than that of domestic animals. Sickness, famine, drink, oppression in the name of an almost feudal paternalism—these were Jussi's heritage, and the heritage of a large part of the Finnish nation until after the World War. "In every phase of every stratum of the Finnish people," observes the author, "everything turns mostly to tragedy, a strange thin tragedy. Fate, instead of exterminating the nation, has subjected it to slow torture."

Permeating the whole book is the grimly fatalistic philosophy that characterizes most northern peoples. "Life is life in all its forms, and the only absolute in relation to it is that it has to be lived." Or, as Jussi concludes after reflecting on his cumulative miseries, it is "like some sour, silly substance of which every human being was given more than he could handle, so that he was always in a state of semi-exhaustion, always on the point of being suffocated by it; it was like being put to work in an enormous hayloft with dozens of carts bringing in hay at a gallop. Until at last one died . . ."

The novel opens with a brief prelude recording Jussi's execution at the hands of White Army officials for a murder which, as we learn later, he lacked the strength of character to commit. The rest of the book retraces the story of his life from birth, the story of sixty years of frustration and want that strip away what little dignity and initiative he once possessed and leave him the stupid tool and laughing-stock of the Red Guards who made an abortive attempt to establish Finnish independence early in 1918.

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The book has a quiet driving power without resorting to any technical tricks, without overwhelming the reader with the ignominious details of Jussi's humble life. If anything, the author is guilty of too rigid selection; he often bridges gaps of many years with only a sentence or two of comment. The closing section particularly may not be altogether clear unless the reader knows at least a little something about the stormy upheavals that led to the establishment of the Finnish republic—say, as much as he would learn from an encyclopedia article. The book, remember, was written for an audience to whom these things were fresh and vivid memories.

The Norwegian novelist Aksel Sandemose is a younger man than Sillanpää but is already known for one book translated into English, a somewhat puzzling and loosely woven but decidedly vital novel called "A Fugitive Crosses His Tracks." The new book has a much smaller narrative scope, but intersperses its story of six men on a sailing vessel with some dozens of purely symbolical anecdotes and reflective passages that remind one faintly of the Dos Passos technique. Many of these appendages sound like prose versions of Hardy's "Satires of Circumstance."

Here again life is harsh and cruel, but mostly because the characters themselves are thwarted, inhibited, out of tune—from the hard-shelled skipper to the definitely psychopathic ex-preacher. The only well-balanced and mentally healthy one of the lot, the philosophical and unconvincing sailor, Gullhest, is killed in the end as he is about to desert his ship, and even he finds his greatest happiness, his inward fulfilment, in a flash of vision just before death.

Perhaps it is a mistake to criticize these characters as convincing or unconvincing, because, in spite of the author's brutally vivid picturization of certain moments in their life aboard the schooner, they remain symbols rather than real people, and the device of isolating them on a lonely sailing ship serves merely as a vehicle for the development of their several warped and biased personalities, together with that of Gullhest, whose view of life is presumably the author's own. Yet so vivid are the individual episodes—the rat hunt, the persecution of the preacher by his shipmates, the Gargantuan drinking bouts—that one is apt not to realize until one finishes the book how much the plot has been subordinated to the ideas.

Compared with either of the preceding books, Mrs. Undset's latest novel, "Images in a Mirror," is rather thin, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Rehearsing the theme, and even echoing the title, of one of her earlier stories, "A Fragment of the Magic Mirror"—and, for that matter, of many of her books—she has written a novelette which except for its verbal frankness might well grace any of the slick-paper magazines for housewives. She preaches the importance and inviolability of marriage without mawkishness or sentimentality, it is true, but the crisis in the plot never seems acute enough to justify all the talk that takes place in leading up to it and resolving it. A mother of four children, oppressed by domestic cares and taken pretty much for granted by her husband, indulges in a mild flirtation with a man whom she has known in childhood, and who himself is interested in her only in a semi-Platonic way. No doubt such things happen, but they aren't very exciting.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Life of St. Patrick

I FOLLOW SAINT PATRICK. By Oliver St. John Gogarty. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.

DR. GOGARTY has the Irish knack of putting down legend and historical fact as though they were yesterday's events. And he has the crotchets, it must be admitted, of the learned Irishman. He is in love with the Roman Empire and with the heroic period of Irish history. In the figure of St. Patrick he is able to admire the civilization of Rome and the nobility of the ancient Irish in one and the same person. For Patrick, according to Gogarty, who passes over the claims of other countries to his birth, was the son of a Roman Briton of Celtic descent (since the Irish had settled Wales). The son of a decurion, he was captured by raiders as a boy, brought to Ireland, lived there as a slave, escaped to what is now the French Riviera, and returned, after twenty-one years, to the island which Caesar's legions had never conquered, to convert it peacefully to the religion of Rome.

Gogarty has made pilgrimages to the principal points of Patrick's dramatic progress. Depending upon legend rather than upon historical conjecture, he makes a good case for his own version of debatable points in the story. His description of the Irish land as Patrick saw it—a land of "waving woods, hidden rivers, and palisaded mounds," a land without towns, ruled by native chiefs rich in land and cattle—is extremely vivid. And he brings out the combination of suspicion, reserve, and warm-hearted courtesy which characterizes the modern Irish.

When Gogarty tries to keep up his reputation as a wit, he is not always successful. He admits to being a snob, and this side is rather wearing, too. But as a writer of evocative prose, and as an advocate of the virtues of the Imperium Romanum, he is very good indeed. And when he insists that the spiritual values of Roman Christianity have persistently influenced and shaped the character and manners of the Irish, we can agree that there is something in what he says.

LOUISE BOGAN

The Story of the C. I. O.

LABOR ON THE MARCH. By Edward Levinson. Harper and Brothers. $3.

LABOR CZARS. By Harold Seidman. Liveright. $2.50.

MR. LEVINSON has written a notable record of the rise and development of the Committee for Industrial Organization. The movement is connected with the past by a short but complete sketch of the history of organized labor from the Knights of Labor to the rise of the opposition within the American Federation of Labor. The chapter on The NRA—An Opportunity Lost is of special importance for an understanding of the immediate events which led to the division in the ranks. The author gives us a sad picture of an unprepared and confused leadership unequal to the tasks before it. In contrast he shows us a confident and daring minority finally forced to disregard the formal rules in order to take advantage of organizational opportunities.

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The chapters that follow are invaluable for an understanding of difficulties overcome and oppositions mastered. Having been on the spot when the events were taking place, Mr. Levinson has caught something of the dramatic excitement that surrounded these conflicts.

Despite its value as a historical document, Mr. Levinson's work is far from objective reporting. Nor is his analysis unbiased. He is clearly partisan, and his dislike of the conservative leaders of the American Federation of Labor is evident on almost every page. The notion of craft autonomy is not a strongly held principle, as he implies, but is a practical device for the protection of jurisdiction. Allow some of the craft-union bosses an opportunity to extend their jurisdictions, and they will grab every type of worker into their organization. In fact, that is what has happened. The machinists, electricians, carpenters, and many other crafts have long ceased to be craft unions in all but name. The complete breakdown of craft-union lines in the American Federation of Labor will perhaps rank as one of the great achievements of the C. I. O.

In comparing the leaders of the craft and industrial unionists the author hardly picked the most important or dynamic representatives of the American Federation of Labor. It is true that the list includes William Green; and Hutchison and Tobin are leaders of important internationals. But Frey and Woll are mainly rhetoricians, who make good copy for the daily press. While one is a copious quoter of historical precedents and the other frequently shows his knowledge of the law, neither represents an important body of unionists. Arthur Wharton of the machinists, George Harrison of the clerks, and Dan Tracy of the electricians are certainly more representative. Moreover, these men did not allow the grass to grow under their feet, but helped to initiate extensive organizational drives which have netted the labor movement hundreds of thousands of new members.

The achievements of the C. I. O. may shine more brightly contrasted with the drab activities of the American Federation of Labor. Yet it is hardly reasonable to assume that the present leaders of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are without ability or drive, in view of their large membership gains in the last four years and their ability to meet the attacks of the C. I. O. on many fronts. Mr. Levinson's criticism of the inertia and inactivity of organized labor in the twenties applies to all labor groups. All sections of the labor movement suffered from severe deflation in the twenties, and radical, liberal, and conservative unions seem to have been equally affected. It seems slightly far-fetched to ascribe this situation entirely to the policies of the American Federation of Labor. Undoubtedly, these were a factor, but they were far from the single cause.

Mr. Levinson's concluding chapter raises a number of interesting questions and shows him to be a keen student of union problems. Being essentially "union-minded" he foresees the danger of the factional activity carried on by the several brands of Communists in the new organizations. He notes that transferring the problem of the relative virtues of Trotsky and Stalin to the union hall can only lead to dissension and the ruin of the new unions. He distinguishes between red-baiting and opposition to Communist control of unions—a distinction of vital importance. He also tells us that Mr. Lewis's views have undergone a change since 1925. This is scarcely surprising, but no one has yet discovered his opinions on many fundamental questions. It is all the more important to know them, since Mr. Lewis is anxious to go beyond pressure-group politics.

Many things have happened since "Labor on the March" went to press. No longer do enthusiasts believe that the American Federation of Labor is on its last legs. Increasingly, signs point to reaction. In many sections employers are preparing to attack or are actively attacking both the old and the new unions. Having made a lasting contribution to the cause of labor, and having forced the obliteration of archaic craft lines, the C. I. O. can now serve labor by a policy that will make possible the healing of the breach. It would seem that leaders who have learned the principle of compromise and concessions in their dealings with employers would know how to apply the same technique to disputes in the family of labor.

In contrast to "Labor on the March," Mr. Seidman's volume, "Labor Czars," presents scarcely anything new. It is mostly warmed-over material with a few new ingredients mixed into a rather unpalatable stew. That craft unions breed racketeering is the burden of Mr. Seidman's thesis. Many objections can be raised against the craft unions, but the available evidence indicates that racketeering has always been an exception. For that matter there have also been a few irrgularities in unions organized on an industrial basis; and even revolutionary unions have not been without corruption. The existence of racketeering is traceable to causes other than organizational structure. Mr. Seidman's volume, by exaggerating the extent of the problem and by referring to certain established, though undesirable, practices as racketeering, only helps to discredit all forms of labor organization. This conclusion is no empty speculation. A number of years ago when I called upon the leader of an anti-union employers' group for evidence of labor racketeering, he handed me a volume on that subject written by a famous left-wing author. Mr. Seidman's study will take a place in the same library.

PHILIP TAFT

Tale of a City

A SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH. By Philip Klein and Collaborators. Columbia University Press. $4.75.

THE last depression forced many communities to acquire what for want of a better term might be designated a social consciousness. Pittsburgh was one, and to those who knew the steel city of old the acquisition appears as fantastic as the city itself with its streets and boulevards encircling the hills like so many ribbons around a Gargantuan neck.

In 1932 Pittsburgh liberal opinion gathered its forces into an organization known as the League for Social Justice. (It had nothing in common with the National Union for Social Justice later organized by Father Coughlin.) The league never had more than 200 members, although its mailing list and consequently the number of people it could mobilize for a given cause was much larger. But it became a force in the community out of all proportion to its size. One of its committees began to organize the unemployed, and before long

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the offshoot outgrew the parent and began to function independently. It brought vigorous mass pressure for better relief, while the parent organization continued to plague the relief authorities with unpleasant facts. This combined pressure eventually produced notable results.

In the beginning relief was thrust upon the established social agencies and overwhelmed them. After they had grappled with the problem for a year relief was finally separated from their functions. The change improved relief but failed to restore the social-work structure to its pre-depression equilibrium. It needed gearing not only to increased demands but to a changing concept of social work. Finally a specialist was called in to diagnose the difficulties and to suggest remedies. This 958-page volume is one of the results. Through the instrumentality of a sponsoring committee of thirty, all but one of them listed in Pittsburgh's Blue Book and two-thirds of them bankers, industrialists, or lawyers, the Buhl Foundation made a grant of $85,000. Dr. Philip Klein of the New York School of Social Work directed the study, which embraced Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, a community of approximately 1,500,000 population.

The study turned out to be the second bombshell to explode in Pittsburgh within a year. The first was the steel study financed by the Falk Foundation, which recommended industrial unionism to steel executives as the only appropriate form of labor organization in the industry. The second is a social study which says to very much the same group that in an area where great wealth is produced living conditions for the mass of workers are disgraceful, poverty is rampant, snobbery toward the foreign born and the Negro at a high peak; that Scotch Presbyterians who have attained wealth directly or indirectly rule the community, and that their rule is inefficient.

Dr. Klein delves into the background because he refuses to treat social work as if it existed in a vacuum. To give it proper setting and perspective he endeavors to probe into the life of the community, especially into those sections of it from which come the recipients of welfare grants on one hand and the distributors and administrators of the grants on the other. Broadly classified, these sections represent capital and labor. The analyses of labor's status and organizational activities are considerably dated, since the study was launched in 1934 and continued to 1936, and many changes have taken place since then. More pertinent than the factual account of conditions which prevailed at the time of the study is the author's analysis of the unchanged psychological basis of social work. The group which sponsors welfare aid, Dr. Klein points out,

> assumes that there must be those who have more and those who have less; those who have power and those who must serve; those who have wisdom and those who must depend upon others. It further not only assumes that the "better class" is an economic-social concept, but also imputes to it superiority in moral standards and stamina. Indolence and shiftlessness are associated with poverty, poverty with squalor, and the "poor" is not only description but judgment as well.

The study probes into and analyzes in considerable detail the various social agencies of Pittsburgh and the vicinity and recommends specific plans for changing and coordinating

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them in order to make them function more efficiently. While this part of the book has a distinct local stamp, the broad outlines of both the analyses and the recommendations might well be studied and utilized by other cities. There is ample room for a legitimate difference of opinion on the diagnosis as well as on the suggested remedies, but the study has aroused opposition far beyond this point. Deep resentment is felt against the outsider who tells insiders what to do, and especially over the injection of basic economic principles into a study of social work. The study is therefore destined to be ignored by those for whom it was primarily intended. But if it remains on the bookshelves gathering dust, its facts, in cold print, are still available to the student who for one reason or another, at any time, may want to bring to light a drab picture of a drab city. That is easily worth $85,000 of a foundation's money.

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Anti All Europe

CONSCRIPT EUROPE. By Randolph Leigh. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

THE title of Mr. Leigh's able book does not describe it. It is from end to end a severe criticism of England, France, Germany, and Italy. The keynote he gives in his own foreword: "If the book must be classified as pro- or anti-anything in Europe, it might be said that it is anti the whole predatory pack now dominant there—even in holy Albion!" It is a book which will give no comfort to advocates of collective security, for its purpose is in part to show that our former Allies are only sham democrats, that they batten on us Americans and our gifts, and that the European concept of things today is utterly alien to the American ideal. He finds France to be decaying "under her post-war mendicancy," while England's ruling oligarchy is despoiling its own lower class and "reducing much of Africa and Asia to peonage."

Mr. Leigh often speaks favorably of Hitler. Not that he approves of dictatorships or of Hitler's horrible maltreatment of the Jews, but he recites Hitler's positive material achievements, his endeavor in his mistaken way to uplift his people by discipline, coherence, efficiency and science in administration. Yet he brings out the extraordinary fact that despite the reclamation of several millions of acres of arable land, improved farming technique, direct governmental intervention in the agricultural wage and labor problem, a large increase in swine and cattle, and the greatest per-acre production of wheat in the world, Germany is actually rapidly nearing the danger line in food scarcity and may crash.

The reason for this paradox is that while the population is increasing—Austria's inclusion in the Reich is an injury not a gain because it produces so little food—a great many fields are being devoted to producing industrial raw materials and inedible crops such as tobacco. Mr. Leigh gives as an example the diversion of 4,000,000 tons of potatoes to the production of 120,000,000 gallons of alcohol. Germany can buy food abroad only with great difficulty because it has to devote most of its limited resources in foreign exchange and gold to buying materials imperatively needed for its rearmament and manufactures. This is, of course, no new discovery, but Mr. Leigh presents the facts so clearly and cogently that they are unusually impressive.

That Mr. Leigh has presented only one side of the case is obvious. He is determined that the United States shall keep out of any European entanglements and he wants his fellow-countrymen to see Europe as he sees it. Hence it is no business of his to give a balanced picture. But he has written a book which no one can ignore who is concerned with the question of how far the United States should again go in underwriting the policies of France and England. Its style is clear and concise; its presentation of the material logical, forceful, and challenging.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

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Letters to the Editors

The Credit Is the Jews'

Dear Sirs: In a letter in the issue of August 27, under the title A Briton on Palestine, N. Blew-Jones, as a devoted son of old England, tries to defend the British government for its actions in Palestine. But the facts that Mr. Blew-Jones uses for his argument are very far from the actual reality. It is true that Palestine has blossomed in the last twenty years, but this is not to be credited to the English but to the Jews themselves, who have spent millions and millions of dollars there, as well as much blood and sweat. In many instances the British have created obstacles to the Jews' progress. I was one of the first pioneers in our homeland, and I have witnessed many hindrances laid in our way for the benefit of the Arabs. The British government does not spend its own money in Palestine. There is a great surplus in the treasury of the Palestine government which comes from the taxes collected from Jewish tourists, immigrants, merchants, farmers, industrialists, and even poor workers. This surplus, moreover, would be ten times as large if the government did not spend it on the Arabs and their institutions, on their hospitals and schools, on their villages and settlements, on their sanitation and physical training. The nationalistic Arabic youth now terrorizing the Jews and the English are the product of the education given them by the English at the expense of the Jews.

We do not want young Englishmen to shed their blood on the altar of our homeland. We have asked the government again and again to let us bear arms. Does it hearken? Does Mr. Blew-Jones know that the British government recently executed a nineteen-year-old Jewish lad for carrying a pistol without a permit?

RAPHAEL SHOCHETT

New York, September 13

Farmers Fight Fascism

Dear Sirs: The author of a letter on Bleeding America in *The Nation* of August 20 seems to think that California needs the help of decent people more than the Spanish people who are fighting for their lives.

Yes, we have incipient fascism in California, and the lot of our thousands of migratory workers is deplorable, but most of them have a vote, and if they will use it correctly in November we can throw off some of the reactionary fascism we have been suffering under for four long years.

Most of the white-collar workers in California do not know of the conditions in our valley (which could feed everyone in America), but decent, public-spirited people here are trying to educate them to correct these conditions. The Simon J. Lubin Society of California, a foundation to help agricultural workers, has done excellent work. For one thing it stopped W. F. Schilling, a former $12,000-a-year man on the Hoover Farm Board, and Colonel Walter E. Garrison from organizing Minnesota farmers in pitchfork and ax brigades. California farmers are learning, too, and have organized to fight the farming banks and utilities.

MARGUERITE HAYES

Hayward, Cal., September 10

Don't Question Refugees

Dear Sirs: In your country a great number of people from Austria and Germany have found their refuge. The kindness with which we have been received encourages me to broach a subject which is of vital importance to my countrymen here. Again and again in our conversation with American friends we are questioned about Germany. Those who question us do not realize the danger. We Germans are under the strict control of our government—not only while we are in Germany but wherever we are. There is an elaborate spy system, the details of which I shall not go into here. If anything we say is overheard by spies, they communicate with Germany, and our relatives there are made to suffer.

Many Americans tell me that they are not spies of the German government and that to them personally I can say anything. Certainly we know our good American friends are not spies, but nevertheless they are at times innocently indiscreet. They may repeat to a friend something we have said, not mentioning names but referring to us as Mr. So-and-So. A German spy hears it and spares no pains to discover the German who said it. It is a common trick of German spies to procure information from Americans by pretending to be refugees.

When we are asked such questions as "How do they treat the Jews?" "What do you think about Hitler?" we cannot give information negative or affirmative, for we want neither to endanger our people nor to lie. Even if we simply explain that we must be cautious, we are endangering our people. Do not even ask, "Are you a refugee?"—"Do you wish to become a citizen?"—"Do you like it here better than at home?" By no means ask us, "Have you any money here?" And, finally, we earnestly beseech you, our American friends, *Never tell to anyone else what we say to you.*

A VIENNESE EXILE

New York, September 15

Versailles and Nazism

Dear Sirs: Being a proletarian by birth, by nature, and by various other compulsory processes, I am like the rest of my tribe pretty dumb and patient; so is the ox, but even an ox will get exasperated in time. My wrath just now is directed at those writing fellows who seem to take an infernal delight in confusing us poor producers. My reason for kicking is this: since the sons of Wotan elevated their illustrious chief Hitler to his present throne, we have been told over and over again that the Treaty of Versailles imposed by the Allies upon Germany is directly responsible for the Nazi government of Germany.

I for one deny this. I contend that no civilized person could become a Nazi no matter how many Versailles treaties were signed. If Versailles produced Nazism, by the same logic Italy, which greatly benefited territorially by the treaty, should now be a pure democracy.

As I see it, all nations at war between 1914 and 1918 played the game according to the ethics of that day; the winner took the stakes and that was all there was to it. I am neither an upholder of capitalism nor a war monger, and I have nothing but contempt for a man or a nation that starts a game and belly-aches because it loses. As I see it, writers who blame the Versailles treaty

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for Nazism are probably trying to give Nazism an alibi and are secretly in sympathy with that cowardly movement.

Yours for less belly-aching and a real democracy. LOUIS MOREAU

Laws, Cal., September 10

Readers, Letters, and Editors

Dear Sirs: A magazine worthy of the name must ignore its readers. "Letters to the Editor" departments are all well and good when they are taken as letters and not as messages designed to influence the policy of the magazine. A journal must formulate opinions for its readers and not take advice from them. When a publication begins to heed those who dissent from its policies and alter the latter to conform with the disagreers it is a sad day.

So let *The Nation* cease to worry about those who indignantly attack it and demand changes in strategy, tactics, outlook, opinions, and so on. The reader must never become the controller; when he does influence a magazine, either positively or negatively, the magazine degenerates into a slip of paper to be blown by the wind, when it should be the wind. A magazine is not an instrument of its readers' tastes but of its editors' minds.

SEYMOUR KAPETANSKY

Detroit, Mich., September 16

Catalonia's Effort

Dear Sirs: Louis Fischer appears to me rather hasty in his remarks on Catalonia's participation in the present Spanish conflict, contained in his latest correspondence from Barcelona in *The Nation* of September 3. He stated that "Catalonia began to feel the war only six months ago," and that perhaps war has not yet become a habit there.

To the first statement I will say that torrents of blood would have been saved if the other regions of Spain had acted as swiftly as Catalonia did at the outset of the military rebellion. As to the second remark, let me point out that the Catalans as an industrious and highly civilized people naturally love peace and detest the savagery of war. Permit me to add, in conclusion, that if we consider the relations of democratic Catalonia with monarchist Spain during the last two hundred years, Catalonia's present mighty effort in the Spanish conflict sets an example of loyalty to which no parallel is offered in the history of the world. J. VALLES SOLER

New York, September 7

Encouragement for Longo

Dear Sirs: May I call the attention of your readers to the fact that a devoted young worker for social justice, a Catholic and no "red" of any sort, framed by the Hague machine in New Jersey because of his opposition to that infamous organization, is still in prison. His name is John R. Longo, and his address is Hudson County Penitentiary, Secaucus, New Jersey. I have sent him a supply of books so that he may use his leisure time in self-education. Perhaps other authors may do the same; and your readers may brighten this young man's time by writing him letters of encouragement.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, Cal., September 12

Justice à la Johnstown

Dear Sirs: Herewith, Justice à la Johnstown and a tip to officials of strike-bound cities: Accepting the sum of $36,499.50 from a corporation affected by the strike for the preservation of law and order and then being unable to present an accounting of the disposition of said money is not to be construed as extortion and misdemeanor in office. So decides the grand jury in the case of the People vs. Mayor Shields-Councilman Connor after a year of legal procrastination. So go ahead, boys; grab it while it's there.

Consider the social positions of the members of the grand jury—four housewives, four laborers, two clerks, a merchant, a farmer, a miner, a mine foreman, a barber, a salesman, and a proprietor—and you have some idea of how complete, how permanently effective, were the strike-breaking tactics of the Shields-Bethlehem Citizens' Committee combination. Mr. Shields has achieved martyrdom for the stoic manner in which he has suffered his "persecution" (Question: What *did* he do with the money?). Bethlehem has regained its former revered position as the benefactor of Johnstown. (What if the company should decide to move its mills elsewhere!). The steel workers—those fortunate enough to be employed at present—are very, very peaceful and no one has questioned their Americanism these many months. (One wonders what became of all the aliens, agitators, Communists, and all the other un-American blights with which Johnstown was infested during the '37 strike. Peace—it's wonderful!)

H. G. SANFORD

Johnstown, Pa., September 12

Correction from Stuart Chase

Dear Sirs: In your column "In the Wind" for September 10 you state: "The Hearst-owned *Cosmopolitan* invited Stuart Chase to write a refutation of the anti-Mexican propaganda contained in *The Atlantic Presents.*"

This is not an accurate statement, and in justice to all concerned it should be corrected. The facts are these: An editor of the *Cosmopolitan*—referring to *The Atlantic Presents,* which he had not read—asked me if I thought there might be a timely article setting forth the real situation in Mexico. I replied that I had not kept in close enough touch to do an adequate article without going to Mexico.

Cosmopolitan did not invite me to refute anything, but discussed the possibility of a straight, unbiased news story. STUART CHASE

New York, September 16

CONTRIBUTORS

VLADIMIR POZNER, a French journalist now visiting the United States, has recently published "Bloody Baron: The Story of Ungern Sternberg."

FRED WOLTMAN, a New York newspaperman, covered the recent Hines trial.

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THE NATION, 20 Vesey St., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs, Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

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